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A SKETCH OF MALAGASY GRAMMAR.

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THE RESULTS OF A PROGRAM TO BUILD A MALAGASY GRAMMAR, BASED MAINLY ON THE MERINA DIALECT, ARE PRESENTED. INCLUDED ARE SECTIONS ON PHONOLGOY, MORPHOLOGY, AND SYNTAX. (AN ACCOMPANYING MALAGASY INTRODUCTORY COURSE IS ED 010 482.) (GD)

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A SKETCH OF MALAGASY GRAMMAR

by Catherine J. Garvey

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AUTHOR'S NOTE

Malagasy is the language of the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) and shares, with French, the status of official language of that island, which is situated in the Indian Ocean off the southeast coast of Africa. The Malagasy Republic was proclaimed in 1958 and became officially independent of its former French rule on June 26, 1960. The dialect of the capital, Tananarive, and of the central plateau region is Merina. The regional dialects are said to be largely mutually intelligible with Merina. Malagasy is related to the Indonesian languages of the Southwest Pacific. However, closer specification of its historical source has not been agreed upon. (See Dahl, Otto C. Malgache et manjaan. Oslo: Egede Instituttet, 1951, for a listing of the studies on the position of Malagasy in the Malayo-Polynesian language family.)

The present study was conducted in Washington, D.C. The principal informants, Jacky Radifera and Mireille Razafindrazaka, are native speakers of Merina who are presently studying in the United States. Several other speakers of Merina contributed varying amounts of time to the project. All of the speakers who cooperated in this work were fluent speakers of French which in most cases had been their primary language of instruction in Madagascar.

The continual assistance and interest of the principal informants and of the other Malagasy speakers is gratefully acknowledged. The Publications Section of the Center for Applied Linguistics and especially Mr. John Hammer, Editorial Assistant, and Mrs. Peggy Moffett, Publications Clerk, deserve special thanks for their help in the preparation of the manuscript. I particularly wish to thank Dr. William W. Gage of the Center staff who read and provided most helpful criticism of the entire manuscript.

C. G.

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1.0 Phonemes The phonemes of Malagasy.

1.1 Segmental phonemes

1.11 Vocalic

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

1.12 Consonantal

	Labial	Dento-Alveolar	Alveolar	Velar
nasality	m	n		
stopping	p	t	(ʦ)	k
voice-stopping	b	d		g
nasality-stopping	p̃	t̃		k̃
nasality-voice-stopping	b̃	d̃		g̃
friction	f		s	h
voice-friction	v		z	
stopping-friction		ts	tr	
voice-stopping-friction		dz	dr	
nasality-stopping-friction		t̃s	t̃r	
nasality-voice-stopping-friction		d̃z	d̃r	
Resonant		l	r	

1.2 Prosodic phonemes

Accentual: ´(heavy stress) `(weak stress) (lack of stress is not indicated)

Junctural:

Internal .

External . , ;

Contour modifying

Pitches: 1 2 3 (from low to high)

Emphatics: ! ? ??

2.0 Larger units

2.1 Stress groups

The segmental phonemes occur in sequences called stress groups, which contain one heavy stress, with or without weak stresses, and which are delimited by a pause, actual or potential.

2.11 Stress groups and stress distributions

The position of heavy stress in a stress group is not predictable.

E.1 tsìsitánana 'no hands'
E.2 tsìsitanána 'no country'

A weak stress usually occurs on alternate vowels preceding the heavy stress, but other distributions of weak stress may be found.

E.3 màlalafúβa 'polite'
E.4 mipetráha 'sit down'

2.12 Internal juncture

The internal juncture /./ occurs between vowels within the stress group. The phonetic characteristic of /./ is vowel hiatus. Vowel hiatus occurs consistently between any two stressed vowels, but its occurrence is not predictable between a stressed and an unstressed vowel.

E.5 á.itra 'grass'
E.6 a.ʃritra 'stingy'
E.7 áiza 'where?'
E.8 ù.ʃzi 'he says'

2.2 Contours

Stress groups accompanied by pitch phonemes are called contours. In the contour the highest pitch usually occurs at the position of the heavy stress. Other pitch phonemes occur at the position of weak stress and as components of external juncture.

2.21 Pitch

Pitch phonemes /1 2 3/ have allophones [1^ 2^ 3^] when occurring with heavy stress. /3/ has an allophone [4] when occurring with heavy stress in the emphatic contour /!/. (See E.14)

```
          2 2^  1      2 2  1
E.9   [làsízi   ]  /làsízi /  'He's gone.'

          2 3^  2      2 3  2
E.10  [làsízi   ]  /làsízi /  'Is he gone?'
```

2.22 External juncture

Patterns of pitch phonemes from the heavy stress to the end of the contour are subsumed under the external junctures.

/,/ indicates sustention of pitch from the pitch level of the heavy stress. A slight terminal rise in pitch is considered an optional, non-distinctive characteristic of this juncture. A pause accompanies this juncture only at the end of an utterance.

```
          2      2 2
E.11  /vìtaniràrá ,/  'The work is finished.'
```

/;/ indicates fall in pitch from the pitch level of the heavy stress. The fall does not reach the lowest level of phonemic pitch. A pause accompanies this juncture only at the end of an utterance.

```
          2      2 3
E.12  /vìtaniràrá ;/  'The work is finished.'
```

/·/ indicates fall in pitch from the pitch level of the heavy stress. The fall reaches the lowest level of phonemic pitch. A pause always accompanies this juncture, which signals the end of an utterance.

```
          2   3
E.13  /àmisívi ./  'At nine.'
```

2.23 Emphatic contours

Three types of modifications have been noted that affect the stress or pitch distributions of the entire contour. An emphatic contour may be compared to a contour lacking the emphatic modification.

/!/ is written before a contour to indicate an over-all upward shift in the pitch levels of the contour.

```
          2   3
E.14  /! tàrenáu ;/  'You're late!'

        3   4  2
      [tàrenáu  ]
```

and lacking the modification:

```
          2   3
E.15  /tàrenáu ;/  'You're late.'
```

/?/ is written before a contour to indicate a shift in the stress pattern. Any initial /`/ becomes /´/ and any final /´/ becomes /`/. The higher pitch is associated with the heavy (now relocated) stress.

```
            2      3
E.16  /?  tsàradetsára ;/  'Very, very beautiful!'

         3^     2  2
       [tsáradetsàra  ]
```

and lacking the modification:

```
            2      3
E.17  /tsàradetsára ;/  'Very beautiful.'
```

/??/ is written before a contour to indicate a shift in the stress pattern in which /´/ becomes /`/ and a new /´/ is added to the last vowel of the contour. High pitch accompanies the new heavy stress.

```
          2   2
E.18  /?? àmisíví ;/  'At nine, did you say?'

        2   2 3 2
      [àmisìví  ]
```

and lacking the modification:

```
          2   2
E.19  /àmisíví ;/  'At nine.'
```

E.15, if modified by /??/ results in:

```
            2   3
E.20  /?? tàrenáu ;/  'You're late?'

          2   23 2
        [tàrenàú  ]
```

3.0 Vowel allophones

3.1 Stressed vowels, i.e. vowels occurring with either heavy or weak stress, have the following allophones:

/i/ high front unrounded vowel

E.21 [fí]lu 'needle'

/u/ high back rounded vowel

E.22 [fú]lu 'ten'

E.23 [mú]di 'goes home'

/e/ higher-mid front unrounded vowel

E.24 [vé˅]ri 'lost'

/o/ mid back rounded vowel, ranging from lower-mid to mid [ɔ] ~ [ʌ˅]

E.25 [fʌ˅]na 'always'

An optional centering offglide may accompany the lower variant [ɔ^ə]

E.26 [ɔ^ətra] 'resembles'

/a/ low central unrounded vowel

E.27 [vá]ri 'rice'

3.2 Unstressed vowel allophones

3.21 Unstressed and following internal juncture, or /h/, vowel allophones are lax and sometimes centralized:

/i/ [ɪ] ~ [ɨ] lower-high front ~ centralized unrounded vowel

E.28 [á·ɪ]tra 'grass'

/u/ [ʊ<] lower high back rounded vowel

E.29 [sé·ʊ<]tra 'sigh'

/e/ [ɛ] mid-front unrounded vowel

E.30 mi[ré˅·ɛ]tra 'burns'

/a/ [a^] ~ [ə] higher-low central ~ mid central unrounded vowel

E.31 [tú·a^]tra 'stairs'

E.32 [ma·ɾ·ə] 'thin'

(/o/ is not noted in this position)

3.22 Unstressed, between a consonant and external juncture, /i u a/ are weakly articulated and often voiceless. In this position, the vowel allophone may be localized only in the release of the preceding consonant.

3.23 Unstressed, between consonants, excepting /h/, /i/ and /u/ have weakly articulated, often voiceless allophones or allophones which may be localized only in the release of the preceding consonant or as the quality of a syllabic consonant. Allophones described in 3.22 and 3.23 are indicated phonetically by a subscript dot, e.g. [ụ].

E.33 [ị] /kàrakarón[ị]$_2$, vúl[ị]$_3$ ./$_2$ 'Take care of the plants.'

E.34 [ụ] /sasáun[ị]$_2$, vúl[ụ]$_3$ ./ 'Wash your hair.'

E.35 [ạ] /ts[ị]tsɨun[ị]$_2$, vúl[ạ]$_2$ ./ 'Spend the money carefully.'

E.36 [i̯] /kèl[i̯]fón[a̯] ./ 'just a little'

E.37 [u̯] /ràn[u̯]fúts[i̯] ./ 'white water'

3.24 Unstressed, contiguous to a stressed or unstressed vowel other than /i/ or /u/, respectively, /i/ and /u/ have tense glide allophones [i͡] and [u͡], respectively.

E.38 /iV́/ /nàkél[i͡]àza ./ 'just a little'

E.39 /V́i/ /à[i͡]zanitséna ;/ 'Where's the market?'

E.40 /uV́/ /ab̃[u͡]árina ./ 'fixed'

E.41 /V́u/ /fà·izá[u͡] ,/ 'but, now...'

E.42 /iV́/ /lab[i͡]éra ./ 'beer'

E.43 /uV/ /[u͡]atrínuna ;/ 'how much?'

E.44 /iV/ /[i͡]aná[u] ./ 'you'

3.25 Unstressed, in absolute initial position before a consonant, /e/ and /a/ have allophones similar to the stressed allophones, [eˇ] and [a], reapectively. /i/ and /u/ have weakly articulated, weakly voiced allophones [i̯] and [u̯], respectively. /o/ is not noted in this position.

E.45 /[i̯]tíkatra ./ 'this'

E.46 /[u̯]máli ./ 'yesterday'

E.47 /[a]rívu ./ 'thousand'

E.48 /[eˇ]rí ./ 'that'

3.3 Nasalization of vowels

All vowels have weak nasalization preceding a nasal consonant. Heavy nasalization of vowels may occur preceding nasalized consonants.

3.4 Symbolization of vowel allophones

For subsequent reference, three sets of vowel allophones will be assigned special cover symbols.

V_1 = tense glide allophones of /i/ and /u/.

V_2 = weak or voiceless allophones of /i/ and /u/ between consonants.

V_3 = weak or voiceless allophones of /i/, /u/, or /a/ following a consonant and preceding external juncture.

4.0 Consonant allophones

4.1 Stops

4.11 Oral stops

/p/ is an unaspirated voiceless bilabial stop.

E.49 papái 'papaya'

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop.

E.50 babái '(name of a mountain)'

/t/ is an unaspirated voiceless dento-alveolar stop.

E.51 fáti 'dead person'

/d/ is a voiced dento-alveolar stop.

E.52 fádi 'taboo'

/k̟/ is an unaspirated voiceless palato-velar stop with palatal offglide [k̟̂ʲ].

E.53 alík̟a 'dog'

E.54 ik̟útu '(boy's name)'

/k/ is an unaspirated voiceless velar stop.

E.55 madzupíka 'cloudy'

E.56 tìkutukú 'I like very much'

Preceding /i/, /k/ has a slightly palatalized stop allophone [k̟].

E.57 akípaka 'shoo away'

/g/ is a voiced velar stop.

E.58 gága 'surprised'

Following /i/, /g/ has a palato-velar stop allophone followed by a palatal offglide [g̟ʲ].

E.59 migúka 'swallows'.

The lack of parallelism in the distribution of the palatal variants of /k̟/, /k/, and /g/ may represent a relatively new development in the language.

Otto Dahl (1953) interprets the palato-velar stop with offglide [k̟ʲ] as the allophone of /k/ following /i/, and the velar stop /k/ following /i/ as actually following a sequence /ia/ in which the /a/ has been reduced to voicelessness. Thus Dahl would phonemicize E.46 as /alíka/ and E.48 as /tɬakutukú/. No instance of velar [g] following /i/ has been noted in the speech of the present informants.

4.12 Nasal stops

/m/ ia a nasal bilabial stop.

E.60 mámi 'sweet'

Following pause and preceding a sequence V_2C, a syllabic allophone [m̩] may represent both /m/ and the following V_2.

E.61 [m̩]sótra 'thanks' (V_2 = /i/, See Sec. 4.52)
E.62 [m̩]sé 'Mr.' (V_2 = /u/, See Sec. 4.53)

/n/ is a nasla dento-alveolar stop.

E.63 ànananái 'what-we-possess'

Following pause and preceding a sequence V_2C, or in the environment V_2--V_3, a syllabic allophone [n̩] may represent both /n/ and the following V_2.

E.64 [n̩]tadiávini 'was-looked-for-by-him' (V_2 = /i/, See Sec. 4.52)
E.65 [n̩]ráisiku 'was-received-by-me' (V_2 = /u/, See Sec. 4.53)

4.13 Nasalized stops

/p̃/ is a nasalized voiceless bilabial stop, either [^{m}p], a voiceless bilabial stop with short homorganic nasal onset; or, less frequently, a voiceless bilabial stop following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.66 [a^{m}p]íta 'across from' or
E.67 [ãp]íta 'across from'

/b̃/ is a nasalized voiced bilabial stop, either [^{m}b]. a voiced bilabial stop with homorganic nasal onset of longer duration than the oral portion of the stop; or, [Ṽb], a voiced bilabial stop following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.68 man[ú^{m}b]uka 'begins' or
E.69 man[úb̃]uka 'begins'

/t̃/ is a nasalized voiceless dento-alveolar stop, either [^{n}t], a voiceless dento-alveolar stop with short homorganic nasal onset; or [Ṽt], a voiceless dento-alveolar stop following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.70 [a^{n}t]ánana 'in the hand' or
E.71 [ãt]ánana 'in the hand'

/d̃/ is a nasalized voiced dento-alveolar stop, either [^{n}d], in which the nasal onset is of longer duration than the oral portion of the stop; or [Ṽd], a voiced dento-alveolar stop following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.72 [a^{n}d]álana 'on the way' or

E.73 [ãd]álana 'on the way'

/k̃/ is a nasalized voiceless velar stop, either [^{ŋ}k] or [Ṽk], a voiceless velar stop following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.74 [a^{ŋ}k]ízi 'child' or

E.75 [ãk]ízi 'child'

Following /i/, /k̃/ has a palato-velar allophone with palatal offglide [^{ɲ}k$^{<i}_{\frown}$].

E.76 tàn[i̯^{ɲ}k$^{<i}_{\frown}$]étsa 'field for transplanting rice'

/g̃/ is a nasalized voiced velar stop, either [^{ŋ}g], in which the nasal onset is of longer duration than the oral portion of the stop; or [Ṽg], a voiced velar stop following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.77 a[^{ŋ}g]ábã 'maybe'

Following /i/, /g̃/ has a palato-velar allophone with palatal offglide [$^{ɲ<i}_{g\frown}$].

E.78 ái[$^{ɲ<i}_{g\frown}$]ana 'fast'

No example of a redistribution of /k̃/ allophones parallel to that of /k̯/ and /k/ is noted in the corpus.

4.14 Oral-nasal-nasalized stop contrasts

Further examples are provided to illustrate the stops in the labial series.

E.79	/p̃/		rànupãri	'sugar cane juice'
E.80	/b̃/		tànibãri	'rice field'
E.81	/nib/		rènibé	'grandmother'
E.82	/b̃/		b̃á	'(polite particle)'
E.83	/mib/	[m̥b]	mibáta	'lifts and carries'
E.84	/nim/		tànimáti	'dead earth'

4.2 Spirants

/f/ is a voiceless labio-dental spirant.

E.85 fúlu 'ten'

/v/ is a voiced labio-dental spirant.

E.86 vúlu 'hair'

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar spirant, slightly grooved with spread lip position

E.87 sísa 'remainder'

/z/ is a voiced alveolar spirant, slightly grooved with spread lip position.

E.88 zízu 'moans'

Following pause and preceding V_2C, the syllabic allophones [f̩ v̩ s̩ z̩] represent /f v s z/ as well as the following V_2.

/s/	E.89	[s̩]magázu	'and kasava'	(V_2 = /i/, See Sec. 4.52)
/v/	E.90	[v̩]lí	'dishes'	(V_2 = /i/, See Sec. 4.52)

/h/ is a weak glottal spirant, voiceless [h], or with slight voicing [ɦ].

E.91 alahádi 'Sunday'
ala[h]ádi 'Sunday' or
ala[ɦ]ádi 'Sunday'

For some speakers, intervocalic /h/ may be a glottal stop [ʔ].

E.92 ala[ʔ]ádi 'Sunday'

Following /i/, /ɣ/ has a slightly voiced velar spirant allophone with palatal offglide [ɣ̞ʲ].

E.93 fi[ɣ̞ʲ]ínana 'edibles'

4.3 Affricates

4.31 Oral Affricates

/ts/ is a voiceless apical dento-alveolar affricate.

E.94 tsára 'beautiful'

/dz/ is a voiced apical dento-alveolar affricate.

E.95 dzíru 'light'

/tr/ is a voiceless blade alveolar affricate.

E.96 tránu 'house'

/dr/ is a voiced blade alveolar affricate.

E.97 dràdradrádra 'lament'

4.32 Contrasts between affricates and CV_2C

Further examples are provided to illustrate the affricates in contrast with sequences of consonant-voiceless vowel-consonant.

The sequence /tis/ has a released palatalized /t/, [t̠], as a function of V_2, and /s/ is a grooved spirant [s̻].

/ts/ E.98 mà·atsára 'can make beautiful'
/tis/ E.99 màtisásatra 'dead tired'

The sequence /tir/ has a released palatalized /t/, [t̠], as a function of V_2, and /r/ is a voiced trill.

/tr/ E.100 matrátra 'reaches'
/tir/ E.101 màtirái 'dead (is) father'

4.33 Nasalized affricates

/t̃s/ is a nasalized voiceless apical-dento-alveolar affricate, with short homorganic nasal onset [^{n}ts]; or [Ṽts], a voiceless apical dento-

alveolar affricate following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.102 fá[^{n}ts]iḳa 'nail' or
f[ãts]iḳa 'nail'

/$\tilde{dz}$/ is a nasalized voiced apical dento-alveolar affricate, with longer homorganic nasal onset [^{n}dz]; or [$\tilde{V}$dz], a voiced apical dento-alveolar affricate following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.103 a[^{n}dz]ára 'part' or
[ãdz]ára 'part'

/$\tilde{tr}$/ is a nasalized voiceless blade alveolar affricate, [^{n}tr]; or [$\tilde{V}$tr], a voiceless blade alveolar affricate following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.104 ma·á[^{n}tr]a 'poor' or
ma·[ắtr]a 'poor'

/$\tilde{dr}$/ is a nasalized voiced blade alveolar affricate with longer homorganic nasal onset, [^{n}dr]: or [$\tilde{V}$dr], a voiced blade alveolar affricate following any heavily nasalized vowel.

E.105 ma[^{n}dr]ái 'takes' or
m[ãdr]ái 'takes'

4.34 Affricate-nasalized affricate contrasts

Additional examples are provided to illustrate the nasalized affricates in contrast with non-nasalized affricates and the sequence /n/-voiceless vowel-affricate.

/ts/	E.106	màg̃atsíḳa	'cold'
/$\tilde{ts}$/	E.107	fá$\tilde{ts}$iḳa	'nail'
/nitr/	E.108	lánitra	'sky'
/$\tilde{tr}$/	E.109	ma·á$\tilde{tr}$a	'poor'
/tr/	E.110	piánatra	'student'

4.4 Resonants

/l/ is a voiced dento-alveolar lateral

E.111 lápa 'palace'

/r/ is a voiced tongue-tip trill with contact in the alveolar region. The trill may vary from a single flap to four or five contacts.

E.112 ràparápa 'gropes'

4.5 Systematic sets of consonant allophones before V_2 and V_3

4.51 Aspirated release

All consonants occurring in voiceless-voiced pairs have voiceless aspirated release in the environment --V_3.

/k/	E.113	túpu[k ʻu̥]	'sir'
/g/	E.114	gá[g^{g} ʻḁ]	'surprised'
/tr/	E.115	láni[tr ʻḁ]	'sky'
/b/	E.116	dú[b^{b} ʻu̥]	'small pond'

In the environment --V_2C, voiceless aspirated release of these consonants preceding Va is audible if C is either a voiceless oral stop or affricate.

/z k t/	E.117	[àz^{z} ʻuk ʻut ʻukú]	'I understand indeed.'
/b/	E.118	[manú^{m}b^{b} ʻuk ʻḁ]	'begins'
/d/	E.119	[mfd^{d} ʻitr ʻḁ]	'comes in'

In the environments --V_2C and --V_3, /r/ and /l/ may have voiceless, optionally aspirated, allophones [r̥], [l̥] or [r̥ʻ], [l̥ʻ].

/r/	E.120	[u̥atúr̥ ʻuk ʻu̥]	'I'll show'
/l/	E.121	[sasàun̥ivúl̥ ʻu̥]	'Wash your hair!'

4.52 Palatalization

All consonants except /h/ are slightly palatalized [ç] before V_1, V_2, or V_3 allophones of /i/.

/n/	V_3	E.122	[réni]	'mother'
/b̃/	V_3	E.123	[ú^{m}b^{b}ʻi]	'cattle'
/v/	V_3	E.124	[sfy^{v}ʻi]	'nine'
/v/	V_1	E.125	[àviétʻu]	'from here'
/p/	V_1	E.126	[piánatrʻa]	'student'
/d/	V_2	E.127	[sàd^{d}ʻité]	'or tea'
/f/	V_2	E.128	[mafʻinárʻitrʻa]	'nice'
/r/				

4.53 Labialization

All consonants except /h/ may show weak labialization [C$^{\circ}$] before V_1, V_2, and V_3 allophones of /u/.

/g̃/	V_2	E.129	[tú^{ŋ}g^{g}ʻ$^{\circ}$utrʻa]	'footstep'
/d̃r/	V_2	E.130	[mà^{n}drʻ$^{\circ}$usú]	'come in'
/l/	V_3	E.131	[da·ólʻ$^{\circ}$u]	'all'
/k/	V_1	E.132	[álak$^{\acute{}}$$^{\circ}$uìz^{z}ʻi]	'I hate him.'
/n/	V_2	E.133	[ràn$^{\circ}$ubosárʻi]	'orange juice'
/d̃z/	V_3	E.134	[kádz^{dz}ʻ$^{\circ}$u]	'suddenly'
/v/	V_2, V_3	E.135	[màv^{v}ʻ$^{\circ}$umáv^{v}ʻ$^{\circ}$u]	'rather yellow'

5.0 Syllables

Syllables consist of a simple vowel (V) or of a complex vowel, (V_1V or VV_1), with or without an initial consonant (C).

Although the devoicing of unstressed vowels may result, phonetically, in consonant clusters or in final consonants, the phonemic presence of these vowels has been assumed in statements of distribution.

6.0 Distribution of segmental phonemes

6.1 Vowels

All stressed vowels occur in stress group initial, medial, and final positions. All unstressed vowels except /o/ occur in stress group initial

position. All unstressed vowels occur in stress group medial position. Only / i u a/ occur unstressed in stress group final position.

6.12 Vowel sequences within stress groups

No sequences of identical vowels occur. The following sequences of vowels have been noted. Only the sequence stressed /a/ followed by /i/ functions as a stable diphthong, i.e. a sequence of vowels that retains the stress pattern $\acute{V}V_1$ rather than becoming $V{\cdot}\acute{V}$ under conditions of suffixing stem formation.

$\acute{V}V_1$	$VV_1\acute{V}$	$V_1\acute{V}$	$V_1\acute{V}V_1$	$VV_1\acute{V}V_1$
ái	aiú	iá	iái	auái
áu		uá	uái	èuéu
úi		iú		
ſu		uſ		
éi		ié		
éu		ué		
		ió		

6.2 Consonants

All consonants may occur in stress group medial position. All consonants except the voiceless nasalized consonants may occur in stress group initial position. However /h/ does not occur initially for the majority of informants, and only rarely medially for the same informants. /k̃/ is rare in all positions for the majority of informants. Consonant clusters and final consonants are generally not permitted. However, some loan words of French and English origin have been noted with the following consonant clusters /g̃l/ /ag̃lísi/ 'English', /fr/ /fraT̃sái/ 'French'.

B. Morphology

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11.0 Additional morphophonemic statements

11.1 Morphophonemics of {R}

11.2 Occurrence of ka, tra and n-modifications

0. Words in Malagasy are free forms composed of one or more morphemes, accompanied by word stress.[1] Words are either independent words, that is, they may occupy subject or predicate position in a sentence, or satellite words, that is, words which may not occupy subject or predicate position.

0.1 Phonologically conditioned morphophonemics are those changes in the established shape of morphemes contingent on the phonological environment and not restricted to any class or group of morphemes. The speed of speech is closely correlated with the selection of phonologically conditioned alternates. There is, of course, a continuum ranging from slow deliberate speech to rapid conversational speech. In the following statements, if an alternate is assigned to conversational style, it is implied that that alternate shows a tendency to occur in rapid conversation, rather than in slow deliberate speech. Since alternates which tend to occur in slow deliberate speech are cited less frequently in the following sections, only these will be marked, e.g. ^{d}/ / = deliberate. Conversational style will not be marked.

0.11 Phonologically conditioned alternates are the following.[2]

(a) Identical vowels are simplified to a single vowel in words in sequence, e.g., {ka} 'and' /ad̃e/ 'go' → /kad̃é/; or within words, e.g., {vídi-} 'sell' + {-ina} 'passive suffix' → /vidína/ 'sold'; or with loss of /./ in conversational style, e.g. ^{d}/mà.atsára/ 'can-make-good' → /matsára/.

(b) Certain sequences of stressed[3] vowel followed by unstressed /a/ or /i/ or by /.a/ or /.i/ have preferred alternates in stressed vowel in conversational style. These are the following:

^{d}/é.a/ → /é/	^{d}/nalé.a/ → /nalé/	'gone-(to)'
^{d}/ía/ → /í/	^{d}/ma.ía/ → /ma.í/	'skinny'
^{d}/á.i/ → /á/	^{d}/lá.i/ → /lá/	'boy'
^{d}/úa/ → /i/	^{d}/tukúa/ → /tukú/	'very'
^{d}/è.i/ → /è/	^{d}/lè.ibé/ → /lèbé/	'large'

(c) Facultatively unstressed sequences of /i/ + /a/ → /e/ between words, e.g. [d]/áni 'there' + [d]/àmerí̩ka/ 'America' → /ànemerí̩ka/; or within words, e.g. [d]/iànáu/ 'you' → /enó/.

(d) The phonetic diphthong [d]/áu → /o/ sporadically in conversational style, e.g. [d]/iànáu/ 'you' → /enó/; [d]/izáu/ 'now' → /izó/.

(e) Loss of /·/ in conversational style results in sporadic loss of unstressed vowels, e.g. [d]/fa·éfani/ → /féfani/ 'quarter'. (And see (b) above.)

(f) The voiceless prenasalized consonants /p̃, t̃, ts̃, tr̃, k̃/ are frequently replaced by /p, t, ts, tr, k/ respectively, in conversational style, e.g. [d]/ak̃avía/ 'to-the-left' → /akaví/.

1.0 Word Composition

1.1 Simple words are monomorphemic free forms that do not enter into the composition of complex words, e.g. [d]/sí/ 'and', [d]/vé/ 'question marker', [d]/í/ 'definite pre-modifier', [d]/ní/ 'definite pre-modifier'. Although usually phonologically enclitic and frequently unstressed, these words may occur free and with stress.

1.2 Roots may be free forms (root words) or bound roots. Bound roots occur as the nucleus of complex words. Roots are of three types. Primary roots are monomorphemic and most frequently bisyllabic. Secondary roots may be analyzed as a primary root with (1) one of a set of nonproductive prefixes[4], e.g. {ku-} + {fáfa} → /kufáfa/ 'broom'; (2) one of a set of nonproductive infixes[5], e.g. {-om-} + {táni} → /tománi/ 'tears'; (3) doubling of a bound root, e.g. {tába} → /tàbatába/ 'noises'.

A third type of root, the extended root, terminates in root extensions /ka/, /tra/, or /na/, and more rarely /ni/. The majority of these roots are trisyllabic with antepenultimate stress. A few bisyllabic roots with penultimate stress are also treated as extended roots. Extended roots have combinatory forms lacking the root extensions or with modification of the root extensions, e.g. free form, /zának̃a/ 'child', combinatory form I (zana) + /ralá/ 'brother' → /zànad̃ralá/ 'son of a brother';

combinatory form II (zanak) + /úluna/ 'human being' → /zànakúluna/ 'child of a human being'.

1.21 Morphophonemics of extended roots

Combinatory form II occurs with /ka, tra/ and /na/ or /ni/ extended roots before a following vowel-initial word.

Combinatory form I occurs with /ka/ and /tra/ extended roots before a following consonant-initial word. Initial consonants are modified as follows (hereafter called 'ka, tra modifications'):

f → p	l → d	s → ts
v → b	r → dr	z → dz
H → k^6		

Other consonants are not modified.

Combinatory form I occurs with /na/ or /ni/ extended roots before a following consonant initial word. Initial consonants are modified as follows:

or $\begin{matrix}p\\f\end{matrix}$ 〉 p (rarely $\tilde{p}$)	$\begin{matrix}l\\d\end{matrix}$ 〉 $\tilde{d}$	tr 〉 $\tilde{t}r$ (rarely)
or $\begin{matrix}b\\v\end{matrix}$ 〉 $\tilde{b}$	$\begin{matrix}r\\dr\end{matrix}$ 〉 $\tilde{d}r$	g 〉 $\tilde{g}$ (rarely)
t 〉 t (rarely $\tilde{t}$)	$\begin{matrix}s\\ts\end{matrix}$ 〉 ts (rarely $\tilde{ts}$)	
or $\begin{matrix}H\\k\end{matrix}$ 〉 k (rarely $\tilde{k}$)	$\begin{matrix}z\\dz\end{matrix}$ 〉 $\tilde{d}z$	

Other consonants are not modified. Since the modifications of initial consonants listed under combinatory form I for /na/ extended roots are found under other conditions as well, these modifications will be subsequently referred to as 'n-modifications'. The conditions under which the combinatory forms I, II and the 'ka, tra modifications' occur are summarized in Sec. 11.2.

1.3 Complex words are composed of a nucleus, which may be a root or a reduplicated root,[7] plus inflectional or derivational affixes. Only one class of complex words consistently adds the inflectional affixes, which are

added to the outer layer of the derived word. The order of the principal derivational affixes is represented schematically in Sec. 3.0.

1.4 Compound words are composed of two or (rarely) three nuclei. The nuclei may be two different roots, e.g. {réni} 'mother' + {vú·itra} 'hill' → /rènivú·itra/ 'capital', or a complex word plus a root, e.g. {m-ánana} 'has' + {vádi} 'spouse' → /mànabádi/ 'is married'. Some compound words are subject to inflection, e.g. {m-àna-bádi-} + {-a} 'imperative suffix' → /mànabadí/ 'get-married!'

The compound words often resemble phrases in construction and are frequently similar to phrases in that both phrases and compound words share the same combinatory modifications.

2.0 The stem is the form of the nucleus to which inflectional or derivational affixes are added. Stems may be characterized by the word class membership that results from affixation, e.g. 'an active verb stem'.

Usually two, rarely three, stem types are formed from a root. The two are called the prefixing stem and the suffixing stem. If a third stem is formed, the suffixing stem has both a long and short form.

2.1 The prefixing stem is the form of the stem to which prefixes are added (in the absence of suffixes). The position of stress of the prefixing stem is the same as that of the nucleus. The shape of the prefixing stem is the same as that of the nucleus except for modifications contingent on the nasalizing prefix or for ka, tra or n- modifications.

2.11 Morphophonemics of stems with the 'nasalizing' prefix {aN-}

After the verbal prefix {aN-}, or any prefix complex terminating in this prefix, prefixing stems undergo the following modifications:

(a) Initial consonants /p, f, v/ and sometimes /b/ are replaced by /m/:

{m-aN-} + {-pétraka} → /mamétraka/ 'places'
+ {-fénu} → /maménu/ 'fills'
+ {-váki} → /mamáki/ 'breaks'
+ {-bùsibúsika} → /mamùsibúsika/ 'eats-hurriedly'

(b) /s, t, ts, k, H/ are replaced by /n/:

{m-aN-} + {-sásа} → /manásа/ 'washes'
+ {-téri} → /manéri/ 'tightens'
+ {-tság̃ana} → /manág̃ana/ 'erects'
+ {-kétsa} → /manétsa/ 'transplants-rice'

(c) /l/ or /d/ is replaced by /d̃/:

{m-aN-} + {-lé·a} → /maḏé/ 'goes'
{m-aN-} + {-dídi} → /maḏídi/ 'operates'

(d) /r/ is replaced by /d̃r/:

{m-aN-} + {-ráva} → /maḏráva/ 'destroys'

(e) /z/ or /dz/ is replaced by /d̃z/:

{m-aN-} + {-záitra} → /maḏzáitra/ 'sews'
{m-aN-} + {-dzúb̃una} → /maḏzúb̃una/ 'grows-dark'

(f) H'or /g/ is replaced by /g̃/:[8]

{m-aN-} + {-Hátaka} → /mag̃átaka/ 'requests'
{m-aN-} + {-gína} → /mag̃ína/ 'stays-silent'

(g) /v/ and /b/ are sometimes replaced by /b̃/:

{m-aN-} + {-vúli} → /mab̃úli/ 'plants'
{m-aN-} + {-bóraka} → /mab̃úraka/ 'unties'

2.2 The suffixing stem is the only form of the stem to which suffixes may be added. A suffixing stem may, however, also add prefixes. Suffixing stems are stressed on the last vowel before the suffix. Suffixing stems will be described as derived from the root form by a number of changes.[9] (The following list is not exhaustive, but represents the principal types of suffixing stems.)

Type I. Stress change only. Monosyllabic stems do not undergo stress change.

root form		suffixing stem
{róso}	→	{rosó-}
{vúa}	→	{vuá-}
{ré}	→	{ré-}

Type II.a. Stress change and addition of consonantal stem formant /v, z, s, n/.

{tí·a}	→	{ti·áv-}
{fú·a}	→	{fu·áz-}
{fúnu}	→	{funús-}
{lé·a}	→	{le·án-}
{rái}	→	{ráis-}

/ái/ is a diphthong, thus {rái} is a monosyllabic stem and may not undergo stress change.

Type II.b. Stress change with addition of consonantal stem formant and change of root final vowel: /i/ → /é/, /i/ → /á/, /áu/ → /ó/.

{áni}	→	{anés-}
{ádri}	→	{adrás-}
{laláu}	→	{lalóv-}
{táu}	→	{tóv-}

Type III. Stress change with change of root final vowel: /i/ → /é/.

{dzéri}	→	{dzeré-}
{vúli}	→	{vulé-}

Type IV. Stress change with vowel and consonant stem formant /an/ or /av/.

{tádi}	→	{tadiáv-}
{ví di}	→	{vidián-}

Type V includes all suffixing stems from underlying extended roots. This type shares in common (1) stress change and (2) derivation from combinatory form II of the extended root. Special consonant and vowel changes are indicated under each sub-type of Type V.

Type V.a. Suffixing stems from /ka/ extended roots: /k/ → H; and /i/ → /iá/, /ó/ → /uá/; or /k/ → /f/ less frequently.

root form (combinatory form II)		suffixing stem
{pétrak-}	→	{petráH-}
{sík-}	→	{siáH-}
{ók-}	→	{uáH-}
{té·ak-}	→	{te·áf-}

Type V.b. Suffixing stems from /tra/ extended roots: /tr/ → /r/; and /ó/ → /u·á/; or /tr/ → /t/ less frequently.

{sótr-}	→	{sór-}
{ánatr-}	→	{anár-}
{tá·utr-}	→	{ta·úr-}
{lótr-}	→	{lu·ár-}
{rúvitr-}	→	{ruvít-}

Type V.c. Suffixing stems from /na/ extended roots; No consonant change; and /i/ → /é/; or /n/ → /m/ less frequently.

{dzánun-}	→	{dzanún-}
{fúrun-}	→	{furún-}
{vérin-}	→	{verén-}
{ãdran-}	→	{adrám-}
{lén-}	→	{lém-}

2.21 Morphophonemic alternations of vowels in roots and derived suffixing stems are summarized below. (Stress changes alone are omitted.)

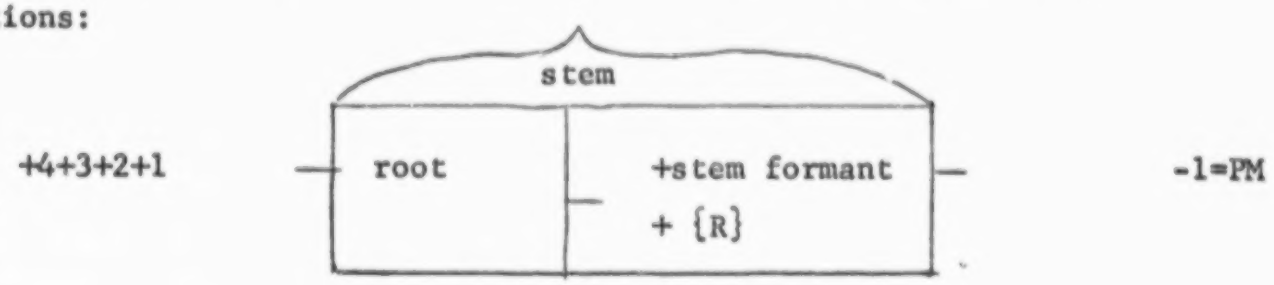
Root vowel	Stressed vowel of suffixing stem
ó	u·á
ó	uá
áu	ó
í	iá
i	é
i	á

3.0 Derivational Affixes

Many roots are bound, that is, they occur only as the nucleus of complex words. It is convenient to list first of all the principal

derivational affixes that function as components of forms that will be assigned to word classes, on the basis of either inflectional or syntactic criteria.

Derivational affixes-suffixes, prefixes, and prefix complexes- occur in fixed positions relative to the stem. Following is a diagram of the affix positions:



Derivational affixes of positions +4 and -1 are mutually exclusive with the inflectional affixes. The symbol =PM indicates post-clitic person marker position. Root + {R} is a reduplicated root formed from a root word.

3.1 Suffix position -1 includes the following derivational suffixes:

-11 {-ina} 'passive-adjectival'
/sutrúina/ 'drunk'
-12 {-ana} 'passive-adjectival'
/ana/ /lémana/ 'damp'
/lavá·ana/ 'dug'
~ /na/ after stressed vowels:
/dzeréna/ 'looked-at'
-13 {-ana} 'relative-nominal'
/ana/ /ilalóvana/ 'play'
~ /na/ after stressed vowels:
/ad̃urúna/ 'burn'
~ /ina/ is a rare optional free variant of this morpheme, perhaps on analogy with -11 {-ina}:
/ad̃rusúna/ or /ad̃rusúina/ 'improve'

The morphemes -11, -12, -13 are treated as na root extentions occurring in combinatory forms I and II. Thus, before the post-clitic person markers these morphemes have, respectively, the allomorphs /i, a/ and /a/. The allomorph of -12 and -13 after stressed vowels, has the

allomorph phonemic zero /ϕ/ before the post-clitic person markers:

-11 /sutrúiku/ 'drunk-by-me'
-12 /lavá·aku/ 'dug-by-me'
/dzeréku/ 'looked-at-by-me'
-13 /ilalóvaku/ 'played-by-me'

3.2 Prefix position +1 includes the following derivational prefixes:

+11 {ra-} 'proper noun-formal'
/ra/ /radzóna/ 'Rajoana'
+12 {in-} 'multiplicative'
/inéfatra/ 'four times'

This morpheme produces n-modifications in following stems: /fúlu/ 'ten' /iɲúlu/ 'ten times'

+13 {Ha-} 'nominal'
/a/ before consonants and /·/:
/abétsaka/ 'state of being many'
~ /ϕ/ before vowels:
/énatra/ 'shame'
+14 {m-} 'adjectival'
/máika/ 'hurried'

The following forms, +15 to +17, are tentatively analyzed as prefixes:

+15 {i-} 'demonstrative'
/i/ /itĺ/ 'this'
+16 {e-} 'locative-seen'
/e/ /étu/ 'her'
+17 {a-} 'locative-unseen'
/a/ /átu/ 'here'
+18 {an-} 'prepositional'
/an/ before vowels
/ulóna/ (bound root) /anulóna/ 'in-front-of'

This morpheme produces n-modifications in following stems, e.g. /tránu/ 'house' /atránu/ 'at home' /fesána/ 'tool' /apesána/ 'at the office'

3.3 Prefix position + 2 includes the following derivational prefixes:

+21 {aN-} 'verbal' (usually transitive)
/an/ before vowel initial stems and unmodified prefixing stems:
{m-aN-asa} /manása/ 'invites'
~ /a/ before modified prefixing stems (Sec. 2.11):
{m-aN-tsaĝana} /manáĝana/ 'erects'
{m-aN-sasa} /manása/ 'washes'

+22 {ana-} 'verbal' (usually transitive)
/ana/
{m-ana-tsútra} /manatsútra/ 'makes- (hair)- straight'
{m-ana-futsi} /manafútsi/ 'makes-white'
{m-ana-m-aika} /manamáiḳa/ 'makes-hurry'

+23 {aka̰-} 'verbal'
[d]/aka̰/ before /·/ (not noted before consonants):
{m-apif-aka̰-Hita} /màpifaka·íta/ 'make-(2) people-meet'
~ [a]/ak̰/ before vowels:
{m-aka̰-e-ri} /makerí/ 'goes-there'

+24 {i-} 'verbal' (usually intransitive)
/i/
{m-i-anatra} /miánatra/ 'studies'

+25 {a-} 'verbal-passive'
/a/
/atáu/ 'done'

+26 {a-} 'adjectival'
/a/
{m-a-zutua} /mazútu/ 'industrious'

3.4 Prefix position +3 includes the following derivational prefixes:

+31 {ap̃-} 'verbal-causative'
[d]/ap̃/
{m-ap̃-aN-Hufa} /mapanúfa/ 'rents-out'
{m-ap̃-i-ad̃ri} /mapiádri/ 'makes-wait'

+32 {if-} 'verbal-reciprocal'
/if/
{m-if-aN-tau} /mifanáu/ 'do-mutually'

And the two morpheme complexes:

+33 {aβif-} 'verbal, causative-reciprocal'
d/aβif/
{m-aβif-aN-H'alatra} /màpifaβálatra/ 'make-each-other-steal'
+34 {ifaβ-} 'verbal, reciprocal-causative'
d/ifaβ/
{m-ifaβ-aN-sasa} /mifapanása/ 'mutually-cause-to-wash'
+35 {vo-} 'adjectival-perfective' (indicates action recently completed):[12]
/vo/
{vo-tuga} /votúga/ 'just-arrived'
+36 {tafa-} 'adjectival-perfective' (indicates action completed):
/tafa/
{tafa-vuri} /tafavúri/ 'assembled'
~ /taf/ before a vowel initial stem:
{tafa-iditra} /tafíditra/ 'entered'

3.5 Prefix position +4 includes the following derivational prefixes:

+41 {f-} 'nominal' (abstract or instrumental nouns derived from verbs):
/f/
{f-aN-vaki} /famáki/ 'ax'
{f-a-Ha-ratsi} /fà·arátsi/ 'badness'
{f-i-tia} /fitſ/ 'way-of-loving'
+42 {p-} 'nominal' (agent nouns derived from verbs):
/p/
~ {p-i-anatra} /piánatra/ 'student'
{p-aβ-i-anatra} /papiánatra/ 'teacher'
+43 {m-} 'active'
/m/
{m-i-anatra} /miánatra/ 'studies'

{m-} serves a dual function in marking active verbs, and marking the present tense of active verbs and many adjectives. {m-} is thus both derivational and inflectional and is replaced by both derivational prefixes (+41, +42) and inflectional prefixes of tense; see Sec. 4.

4.0 The Verb: Inflection

The verb is the only major form class defined by inflection. The verb is defined by inflection for the imperative. Two major voices of verbs are defined by the imperative suffixes: (1) active verbs and (2) passive-relative verbs.

4.1 Active verbs: Imperative

Active verb stems add the imperative suffix {-a} directly to the suffixing stem.

{-a}

/ϕ/ after stems terminating in /é/:

{m-i-dzere-} + {-a} /midzeré/ 'look-at'

~ /a/ elsewhere:

{m-aN-fu·az-} + {-a} /mamu·áza/ 'wake-up (someone)!'

4.12 Active verbs: Types

The major types of active verbs are listed below according to the morphological composition of the derivational prefixes. All examples are present tense indicative.

Root Verb

/ávi/ 'comes'

Prefixed verbs

+43	{m-iditra}	/míditra/	'enters'
+43+26	{m-a-turi}	/matúri/	'sleeps'

+43+21	{m-aN-tau}	/manáu/	'does'
+43+22	{m-ana-tsara}	/manatsára/	'beautifies'
+43+23+17	{m-aǩa-a-ti}	/makatí/	'comes-here'
+43+24	{m-i-aḏri}	/miáḏri/	'awaits'
+43+24+18	{m-i-an-tsena}	/metséna/	'goes-to-market'
+43+31+26	{m-aṗ-a-ta·utra}	/mapatá·utra/	'makes-afraid'
+43+31+21	{m-aṗ-aN-Hufa}	/mapanúfa/	'rents-out'
+43+31+24	{m-aṗ-i-se·u}	/mapisé·u/	'makes-shown'
+43+32+21	{m-if-aN-tau}	/mifanáu/	'do-mutually'
+43+33+23	{m-aṗif-aǩa-Hita}	/màpifaka·ʃta/	'cause-to-see-mutually'
+43+34+21	{m-ifaṗ-aN-sasa}	/mifapanása/	'mutually-cause-to-wash'
+43+26+13	{m-a-Ha-afaka}	/ma·áfaka/	'can-pass'
+43+26+13+04	{m-a-Ha-m-ami}	/ma·amámi/	'can-sweeten'

4.2 Passive and relative verbs: Imperative

Passive and relative verbs suffix the imperative suffix {-u} to the suffixing stem of the verb.

{-u}

/i/ after stems from roots containing /u/ or /o/:

{rusu-} + {-u} /rusúi/ 'serve!'

/u/ elsewhere:

{dzere-} + {-u} /dzeréu/ 'look-at!'

4.21 Passive verbs: Types

Passive verbs are of two principal types: (1) prefixing passives and (2) suffixing passives. All examples are present tense indicative.

Prefixing passives

+25 {a-verina} /avérina/ 'returned'

{a-petraka} /apétraka/ 'placed'

Suffixing passives

-11 {duru-ina} /durúina/ 'burned'

-12 {lem-ana} /lémana/ 'damp'

{anar-ana} /ianárana/ 'learned'

4.22 Relative verbs: Types

Relative verbs are formed with the suffixing stem of an active verb, without the active verb prefix +43, by the addition of suffix -13. All examples are present tense indicative.

-13	{aN-H'ataH-ana}	/aɠatána/	'ask'
	(active verb)	/maɠátaka/	'asks'
	{a·ita-ana}	/a·itána/	'see'
	/active verb)	/ma·ɪta/	'sees'
	{i-tuɗra-ana}	/ituɗrána/	'bring'
	(active verb)	/mitúɗra/	'brings'
	{aɸ-a-ta·ur-ana}	/àpata·úrana/	'make-someone-afraid'
	(active verb)	/mapatá·utra/	'makes-someone-afraid'
	{ana-ratsi-ana}	/ànaratsína/	'malign'
	(active verb)	/manarátsi/	'maligns'

4.3 Tense inflection of verbs

Verbs are inflected for three tenses: present, past and future. The tense morphemes share the position +4 with the derivational prefixes.

{m-} 'present'

/m/ with active (prefixed) verbs

~ /ɸ/ with passive, relative, and root verbs

{n-} 'past'

/n/ with active (prefixed) verbs, relative verbs, and passive verbs with vowel initial.

~ /ɲu/ with passive (suffixed) verbs with consonantal initial

~ /ɸ/ with root verbs

{Hu-} 'future'

/u/ with passive (suffixed) verbs and root verbs

~ /ɸ/ with active (prefixed) verbs, relative verbs, and passive (prefixed) verbs

Summary of tense inflection:

	Present {m-}	Past {n-}	Future {Hu-}
root verbs	/ávi/ 'comes'	/ávi/	/uávi/
active (prefixed)	/manĺri/ 'grows'	/nanĺri/	/anĺri/
passive (prefixed)	/atáu/ 'done'	/natáu/	/atáu/
passive (suffixed) (vowel initial)	/asáina/ 'worked'	/nasáina/	/uasáina/
passive (suffixed) (consonant initial)	/vunúina/ 'killed'	/nuvunúina/	/uvunúina/
relative	/itud̃rána/ 'bring'	/nitud̃rána/	/itud̃rána/

5.0 Adjectives and Participles

A group of words share some aspects of the morphological composition of verbs as well as some inflectional characteristics. Although the grouping as such is based on the syntactic properties of the words, the group will be described here because of their morphological relationship to the verbs. The group is made up of adjectives, which are similar to active verbs, and participles, which are similar to passive verbs, and a few roots of both types.

5.1 Adjectives

Some adjectives are inflected for the imperative with the meaning 'optative or hortative'. The imperative suffix is identical in form with the active verb imperative {-a}. Adjectives are not inflected for tense when used as modifiers.

Types				Imperative	Tense
Root		/tsára/	'good'	_____	/utsára/ (future)
		/éd̃ri/	'wise'	/ed̃ré/	_____
+04	{m-ami}	/mámi/	'sweet'	_____	_____
(or)	{m-ati}	/máti/	'dead'	/matésa/	_____
+14	{m-ed̃riḳa}	/méd̃riḳa/	'deserving'	_____	_____

Form of active verb					
+43+26	{m-a-zutua}	/mazútu/	'industrious'	/mazutú/	Present Past Future
+43+21	{m-aN-H'atsiḳa}	/mağatsiḳa/	'cold'	_____	Present Past Future
+43+24	{m-i-adza}	/miádza/	'dignified'	/medzá/	Present (only)

5.2 Participles

Participles are generally inflected only for future tense. No imperative forms have been noted.

Types				Tense
Root		/íta/	'seen'	Future /u·íta/
		/tápaka/	'cut'	Future /utápaka/
		/víta/	'finished'	/uvíta/
-11	{kiri-ina}	/kirína/	'stubborn'	_____
	{vulu-ina}	/vulúina/	'hairy'	_____
-12	{fere-ana}	/feréna/	'scarred'	/uférena/
	{bika-ana}	/biḳána/	'shapely'	_____
+35	{vo-rai}	/vorái/	'received'	_____
+36	{tafa-vuri}	/tafavúri/	'assembled'	/ùtafavúri/

6.0 Locatives

Locatives are a small group of words formed from a set of stems with the prefixes + 16 and + 17. Along with the unanalyzed stem {ámina} 'for, with' and {iza} 'where', these words are inflected for past tense by addition of a prefix {t-}. The future is formed with the verbal future prefix {Hu-}, /u/. For example, /étu/ 'here' (present); /tétu/ 'here' (past); /uétu/ 'here' (future).

The stems are ranked in two columns. Stems with prefix +16 indicate a location unseen by the speaker. Stems with prefix +17 indicate a location

seen or recalled as seen by the speaker. The stems are ordered in the columns according to distance from the speaker, although for the last three 'there' items the order may differ for different speakers.

{e-} +16	Stem	{a-} +17	
/etí/	{-ti}	/atí/	'here' (very near)
/étu/	{-tu}	/átu/	'here' (near)
/éu/	{-u}	/áu/	'there' (near)
/étsi/	{-tsi}	/átsi/	'there' (not far)
/éni/	{-ni}	/áni/	'there' (far or vague)
/erú/	{-ru}	/arú/	'there' (far)
/erí/	{-ri}	/arí/	'there' (very far)
	{-iza}	/áiza/	'where?'

7.0 Post-clitic Person-markers

The post-clitic person-markers (PM) occur with root words, or prefixing or suffixing stems. When the PM occur with suffixing stems, the suffixes -11, -12, -13 occur in non-final form. Within brackets PM are preceded by the symbol =, e.g. {Híta} + {=ku} → /hítaku/ 'seen-by-me'. The PM bear stress, except for 1st sg. and 3rd person and imply reduction of stem primary stress to secondary stress.

7.1 Allomorphs of PM

Alternates of PM include two sets of forms. Set A is added to stems in vowel final and to extended roots in /na/. Set B is added to extended roots in /ka/ and /tra/. The 2nd plural forms are bimorphemic, containing an infixed morpheme {-ré-} (which also occurs with the demonstrative substitutes) which means 'plural'.

PM		Set A	Example	Set B
1st sg.	{=kú}	/ku/		~/u/
2nd sg.	{=náu}	/náu/		~/áu/
3rd sg. & pl.	{=ni}	/ni/		~/ni/
1st pl. exclusive	{=nái}	/nái/		~/ái/
1st pl. inclusive	{=t̃sɨ́ka}	[d]/t̃sɨ́ka/	~/tsɨ́ka/	~/tsɨ́ka/
2nd plural	{=na-ré-u}	/naréu/		~/aréu/

7.12 Allomorphs of /ka/ /tra/ and /na/ extended roots before PM are as follows:

{lésuna} 'lesson'

Combinatory form I (lésu) before Set A, e.g., /lésuku/ 'my-lesson'

{fátaɾ̃ra} 'known' {zánaka} child

Combinatory form II (faɾ̃atra) and (zanak) occur before Set B members beginning with a vowel. Combinatory form I (faɾ̃a) and (zana) occur before Set B members beginning with a consonant, e.g., /fáɾ̃atru/ 'known-by-me' /fáɾ̃ani/ 'known-by-him'.

8.0 Nouns

Nouns are a major word class which is not marked by inflection. Nouns are defined by their potential cooccurrence with the PM in the relationship 'possessed noun', e.g. /zánaka/ 'child', /zánaku/ 'my-child'. Nouns may be proper nouns if preceded by the definite pre-modifier /i/ or if prefixed by the proper noun prefix +11, {ra-}. Otherwise, nouns are common nouns.

A few bisyllabic nouns ending in /é/ or /ú/ add /·a/ before the PM: {kafé} 'coffee' + {=ku} → ^{d}/kafé·aku/ 'my-coffee'; {paké} 'package' + {=nau} → ^{d}/pakè·anáu/ 'your-package'.

8.1 Noun types

Root Noun

/vávi/ '(a) female'
/súratra/ 'writing'
/ázu/ 'wood'

Derived Nouns

+11 {ra-} + {zaza-vavi} 'young girl' → /razàzavávi/ 'bride'

Abstract nouns from adjectives:

+13 {Ha-} + {betsaka} 'numerous' → /abétsaka/ 'state of being numerous'
+13...-13 {ha-} + {betsaH-} 'numerous' + {-ana} → /abetsá·ana/ 'quantity'

Agent nouns from active verbs:

+42+24 {p-} + {m-i-anatra} 'studies' → /piánatra/ 'student'
+42+31+24 {p-} + {m-ap̃-i-anatra} 'teaches' → /papiánatra/ 'teacher'
+42+21 {p-} + {m-aN-vaĝi} 'visits' → /pamáĝi/ 'visitor'

Abstract nouns from active verbs:

+41+24 {f-} + {m-i-tia} 'loves' → /fití/ 'way-of-loving'
+41+21 {f-} + {m-aN-vaki} 'cuts' → /famáki/ 'ax'
+41+26 {f-} + {m-a-Hita} 'sees' → /fa·ɬta/ '(things)-seen'
+41+26+13 {f-} + {m-a-Ha-ratsi} 'makes bad' → /fà·arátsi/ 'badness'

Abstract nouns from passive (prefixed) verbs:

+41+25 {f-} + {a-le·a} 'gone' → [d]/falè·anái/ 'place-gone-to-by-us'

Abstract nouns from relative verbs:

+41+21...-13 {f-} + {aN-tov-ana} 'do' → /fanóvana/ 'action, manner-of-doing'
+41+26+13...-13 {f-} + {a-Ha-afaH-ana} 'set free' → [d]/fà·afá·ana/ 'liberty'

9.0 Substitutes

Several groups of words function as substitutes for nouns or noun phrases. These are the personal pronouns and the demonstrative pronouns. There are two kinds of personal pronouns: (1) independent pronouns, which may replace nouns functioning as subjects, and (2) dependent pronouns, which may replace nouns functioning as complements. The same categories as those of the PM are represented. The demonstrative pronouns are based on the same stems as the locatives and exhibit the same dimensions of distance from the speaker.

9.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

The independent personal pronouns (IP) are made up of the demonstrative prefix {i-} +15 and the pronoun stems. The pronoun stems share a component with the PM and are morphologically complex. The stems, however, are not further analyzed.

Prefix		IP Stem		
+15 {i-}	/ϕ/ before	{áu}	→ /áu/	'1st sg.'
	/i/ before	{-zau}	→ /izáu/	'1st sg.' (in initial subject
		{-anau}	→ /iànáu/	'2nd sg.' position)
		{-zi}	→ /ízi/	'3rd (sg. and pl.)'
		{-zai}	→ /izái/	'1st pl. exclusive'
		{-tsiḳa}	→ /itsíḳa/	'1st pl. inclusive'
		~ {-siḳa}	→ /isíḳa/	(Same, rare)
		{-anareu}	→ /iànaréu/	'2nd pl.'

9.2 Dependent personal pronouns

The dependent personal pronouns (DP) are morphologically complex. All begin with /a/, and all but 1st sg. share components with the IP and PM. Several problems are invloved in the analysis of these forms, however, and they will be presented here as unanalyzed words.

/ái/	'1st sg.'
/anáu/	'2nd sg.'
/ázi/	'3rd (sg. and pl.)
/anái/	'1st pl. exclusive'
d /atsíḳa/	'1st pl. inclusive'
/ànaréu/	'2nd pl.'

9.3 Familiar pronoun forms

In place of the formal or polite 2nd sg. IP and DP, several terms may be used in familiar direct address. These are composed of the prefix {i-} +15 or {ra-} +11, and the following stems:

+15 {i-}

/i/ + {-ala} → /elá/ used between boys, classmates
+ {-letsi} → /ilétsi/ used in reply to person addressed as /elá/
+ {-se} → /isé/ used between boys, adult males (more formal than /elá/)
+ {-d̃ri} → /id̃rí/ used between girls, classmates
+ {-ḳala} → /iḳála/ used between girls
+ {-retsi} → /irétsi/ used between adult females, (more formal than /id̃rí/)

+11 {ra-} /ra/ + {-ğa} → /rağa/ used between adult males or brothers

9.4 Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are composed of the demonstrative prefix {i-} +15, and the locative stems. The demonstratives are ranked according to distance from the speaker. However, some variation in ranking exists from speaker to speaker for the last three demonstratives.

+15 {i-} + {-locative stems} →	/itſ/	'this' (very near)
(/-tu/ not used)	/iú́/	'that' (near)
	/ſtsi/	'that' (not far)
	/ſni/	'that' (far or vague)
	/irú́/	'that' (far)
	/irſ/	'that' (very far)

The stems with final vowel stress may combine with a morpheme {-katra} to form the following demonstratives, which may be used in place of the shorter forms:

/itſkatra/	'this'
/irúkatra/	'that'
/irſkatra/	'that'

9.41 Other demonstrative pronouns

Three morphemes may occur with the demonstratives forming (1) plurals {-re-}, (2) unseens {-zá-}, and (3) seen but unknowns {-ún-}. Of these, {-ún-} is an infix, occurring between the consonant and last vowel of the locative stem. {-re-} and {-zá-}, which may be analyzed as bound roots, occur between the demonstrative prefix {i-} +15 and the locative stem.

Demonstrative	(1) Plural {-re-}	(2) Unseen {-zá-}	(3) Unknown {-ún-}
/itſ/			/itúni/
/itu/ (not used)	/irétu/ (/ré/)	/izátu/	
/iú́/	/iréu/	/izáu/	
/ſtsi/	/irétsi/	/izátsi/	

/íni/	/iréni/		/izáni/	
/irú/	/irerú/	(~/re/)		
/irí/	/irerí/	(~/re/)		/irúni/

The same forms are used as demonstrative adjectives, preceding and following a noun, e.g., ^{d}/ità úluna ití/ 'this person this'. ^{d}/izàni futóna izáni/ 'that time that', in which ^{d}/úluna/ and ^{d}/futóna/ are nouns.

10.0 Numbers

Numbers are grouped together primarily on the basis of semantic criteria. Morphologically the cardinal numbers 1-10, 100 and 1000 are roots that uniformly function as stems with the derivational prefix {in-} +12 'multiplicative' and form a complex word with the bound root {anaki-} 'number grouped as a unit', e.g. /ànakitélu/ 'three together'. The cardinal numbers, roots and others, also form ordinal numbers with the prefix complex {f-a-Ha-} +41+26+13, e.g. /fà·afúlu/ 'tenth'.

10.1 The cardinal numbers (roots only) are:

/irái/ ~/rái/	'1'
/rú/	'2'
/télu/	'3'
/éfatra/	'4'
/dími/	'5'
/énina/	'6'
/fítu/	'7'
/válu/	'8'
/sívi/	'9'
/fúlu/	'10'
/zátu/	'100'
/arívu/	'1000'

Another form, /ísa/ 'one' composed of the demonstrative prefix {i-} +15 and a stem {-sa}, may be used in place of /rái/ in counting.

10.2 Non-root numbers

Other cardinal numbers (and ordinal numbers with prefix /fa·a/) are either compound words or phrases composed of numbers and the connective /ábi/ 'plus'. Preceding /ábi/, the number /rái/ 'one' has the alternate /iráiḳa/.

The numbers 20, 30,...90, and 200, 300,...900 may be considered compound words with /fúlu/ '10' or /zatu/ '100' as the second element. A few irregular modifications similar to n- modifications occur in both the first and second elements of the compounds.

Compound words

[d]/rùpúlu/ ~ /ròpúlu/	'20'	/fá·arùpúlu/	'20th'
/tèlupúlu/	'30'	etc.	
/èfapúlu/	'40'		
/dìmapúlu/	'50'		
/ènipúlu/	'60'		
/fìtupúlu/	'70'		
/vàlupúlu/	'80'		
/sìvifúlu/	'90'		

[d]/rùadzátu/ ~ /ròdzátu/	'200'
/tèludzátu/	'300'
/èfadzátu/	'400'
/dìmadzátu/	'500'
/ènidzátu/	'600'
/fìtudzátu/	'700'
/vàludzátu/	'800'
/sìvidzátu/	'900'

110. Additional Morphophonemic Statements

11.1 Morphophonemics of {R}

{R} occurs with adjective, participle and verb roots with the meaning 'attenuation of root meaning' or 'repetition'. The first part of the reduplication form bears secondary stress, the secong part bears primary stress. Vowel final roots are doubled:

{láfu} 'expensive' + {R} → /làfuláfu/ 'somewhat-expensive'
{tsára} 'nice' + {R} → /tsàratsára/ 'rather-nice'

Extended roots occur in combinatory form I or II, depending on the initial phoneme of the root, and with 'ka, tra and n-modifications':

{lávitra} 'far' + {R} → /làvidávitra/ 'rather-far'
{m-i-résaka} 'talks' + {R} → /mirèsadrésaka/ 'chats-for-a-little-while'
{m-i-Hã̀tuna} 'hangs, stops' + {R} → /miàtukátuna/ (with prefix +43+24)

In a few instances the entire active verb is reduplicated except that the prefix +43 occurs only in the first part:

{m-aN-lé·a} 'goes' + {R} → [d]/madè·adé/ 'keeps-going, goes-repeatedly'
(with +43+21 from the root {lé·a} 'go')

11.2 Occurrence of 'ka, tra, and n-modifications'

'ka, tra and n-modifications' occur under the following conditions:

(a.) As a result of {R} (See examples in Sec. 11.1)

(b.) In compound words

{tápaka} 'cut' + {Hévitra} 'thought' → /tàpakévitra/ 'be-decided'

(c.) When the extended root is followed by any word in construction with it and no juncture intervenes, e.g.

{éfatra} 'four' and {lá} 'boy' → /èfadá/ 'four boys'
{p-i-várutra} 'vendor' and {vári} 'rice' → /pivàrubári/ 'vendor-of-rice'
{mánana} 'has' and {sáina} 'intelligence' → /mànatsáina/ 'has-intelligence'

(d.) When any word is the head of a possessive construction or an agent construction, and a construction marker {n} 'n-link' occurs between the head and the agent or possessive attribute, 'n-modifications' occur, e.g.

{n-aléfa} 'was sent' + {n} 'marker' and {rabé} 'Rabe (name)' →
/nalèfadrabé/ 'was sent by Rabe'

It should be noted that in the case of (c.) above, 'n-modifications' may not occur consistently for certain consonants. Especially /d/ /g/ /dr/ /dz/ /ts/ tend to remain unmodified under these conditions.

NOTES

1. Word stress in Malagasy may be interpreted as stress superfixes. For simplicity of notation, however, stress superfixes of words will not be written separately. The convention is adopted of writing stress on all phonemic notations of words. Stress is written on morphemes cited in brackets only for those morphemes that are always stressed and on citations which are not accompanied by a phonemic notation (only, of course, if those morphemes bear stress).

2. { } indicates a morpheme; → should be read 'results in'; + preceding a form in { } or / / indicates addition of a following morpheme to the preceding morpheme to form a word; + preceding a number indicates a position class of prefixes; ~ should be read 'alternates with' (and is used in referring to allomorphs only.) - indicates a point of morpheme juncture and is used in Malagasy forms in brackets only. In English glosses - indicates that the translation corresponds to a single morphological word in Malagasy.

3. By stressed vowel is meant a vowel bearing either primary or secondary stress; the symbol V́ may indicate either /á/ or /à/.

4. Some other members of the set include /da, ki, ta, sa/.

5. Some other members of the set include /or, ar, in, on/.

6. H is a morphophonemic symbol indicating phonemic /·/ or zero that alternates with /k/, (and with /n/ after the verbal prefix {aN-}).

7. Reduplicated roots are, unlike doubled secondary roots, made up of a root plus a reduplicative morpheme {R} 'the meaning of the root to a lesser degree'. The roots which occur with {R} are usually root words.

8. The morphophonemic symbol H' indicates a stem initial phonemic /·/ or zero which alternates with /g̃/ after the verbal prefix {aN-}. H alternates with /n/ in this environment, see Sec. 2.11.b above.

9. The principal reasons for stating the relationship in this direction are (1) the difficulty of predicting the position of root stress from the position of stress of the suffixing stem in Type IV and (2) the difficulty of predicting the root final consonant in Type V.

10. The root {vídi} is the underlying root of the short suffixing stem (Type I) {vidí-}, and of the long suffixing stem (Type IV) {vidián-}.

11. A stem initial consonant /m/ occurring only on (bound) adjective roots may be interpreted as the morpheme +14, or as a part of the adjective root. We will designate this initial consonant as +04 in order to preserve the prefix position order, only when the /m/ is preceded by prefixes of order +1; otherwise, it is designated as +14.

12. {vo-} sometimes has the meaning of action performed by an agent, by intention. {tafa-} lacks reference to an agent or intentional action, but sometimes has the meaning 'an action forced by circumstance'.

13. This prefix complex {m-a-Ha-} forms verbs for which no imperative is noted. These forms are nevertheless included as verbs for syntactic reasons.

C. Syntax

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C. Syntax

1.0 Sentences are utterances that are phonologically complete, i.e. bounded by terminal juncture, and grammatically independent, i.e. not in construction with any other utterance or utterance part. The sentence, in addition to its intonation, is composed of a clause or a sequence of clauses.

2.0 Clauses are full clauses, minor clauses or fragment clauses. Full clauses are minimally composed of a predicate (P) and a subject (S). Minor clauses are minimally composed of a predicate. Fragment clauses are clauses that lack a predicate. Fragment clauses are functionally responses (answers or comments) or exclamations. These are briefly illustrated here and will not be further described.[1]

(responses)	ié	'Yes'
	tsía	'No'
	éni ári	'Yes, indeed.'
(exclamations)	d̃rái	'Oh'
	ái vé	'Oh, really?!'

2.1 Intrinsic properties of clauses include composition and order of clause elements. The full clause is composed of P + S. The normal order has P as clause initial element. If either a S or an adjunct occurs as clause initial, the displaced P is usually preceded by an order marker, /día/ or /nu/. S (with the exception of a clause functioning as S) must be indicated as definite, i.e. preceded by a definite pre-modifier, unless S is intrinsically definite, i.e. a pronoun or a proper name. P may be definite or indefinite in an equational clause, but in other types of clauses P is indefinite.

In general, clauses in sequence containing S in the first clause omit S in subsequent clauses if the subject remains the same throughout the sequence.

2.11 Four clause types are distinguished on the basis of the predicate-subject relationship, which is determined by the composition of the predicate. The types are (1) equational clause (2) descriptive clause (3) action clause (4) existential clause. In the following examples the complete P is underlined twice (P̲), the complete S is underlined once (S̲). Clause adjuncts

and other elements are not underlined in Section 2. Should the discussion require identification of the central word of the P or S, P or S will be written directly above that word. Clause boundaries are indicated by a slant line, /.

1) The equational clause contains a nominal predicate. The meaning is P equals S.

paĩiánatra ízi	'He's a teacher.'
búki=ku itſ	'This is my book.'
ni anáu iú	'That's yours.'

2) The descriptive clause contains an adjectival predicate. The meaning is P specifies or describes S.

mafàna bé ni ándru	'The weather is very hot.'
áu vè ri rabé	'Are the Rabes in?'
àmi ni sívy ni fivurì=nái	'Our meeting is at seven.'

3) The action clause contains a verbal predicate. Three subtypes of action clauses are distinguished according to the predicate verb.

a) The predicate is an active verb. The meaning of the clause is S performs P.

nanà̃tuna ázi ízi	'He approached him.'
miánatra áu	'I'm studying.'

b) The predicate is a passive verb. The meaning of the clause is S is the goal or recipient of action P.

nusutrúi=ni ni dité	'The tea was drunk by him.'
tsi ianára=ni ni lésu=ni	'The lesson isn't being studied by him.'

c) The predicate is a relative verb. The meaning of the clause is S is the circumstance of action P.

adru.áta=ku taratési máma — 'Mama is the cause of my writing this letter.'

àmí ni télu nu anóva=ku rà·ará·a — 'Three o'clock is (when) I do (this) work.'

4) The existential clause contains the verb /mísi/ 'there is, are' or one of its inflected forms. The meaning of the clause is that the existence in the realm of discourse of the direct object complement of /mísi/ is confirmed or emphasized. If the clause includes S, S stands in apposition to P.

mìsi ùluna bétsaka àni atránu — 'There are lots of people at home.'

P = mísi (verb) + úluna (direct object complement with modifier /bétsaka/)

tsi nìsi vúkani ilài fikabánana — 'There were no results from that effort.'

P = tsi nísi (verb) + vúkani (direct object complement)

nìsi ùbi vìtsivítsi tèni atsá·a — 'Some cattle were there in the field.'

P = nísi (verb) + úbi (direct object complement with modifier /vìtsivítsi/.)

2.2 Clauses in sequence are either joined clauses or subjoined clauses. Joined clauses are clauses that lack a connective, e.g.

nadé·a ìzi ádru àman álina / tsi midzánuna — 'He walked day and night, doesn't stop.'

The first clause is a full clause, the second is a minor clause: Both are action clauses.

tsi nìsi lákana / tsi nìsi na ìnuna na ínuna — 'There wasn't a boat, there wasn't anything.'

Both clauses are minor clauses and existential clauses.

Subjoined clauses are clauses joined to another clause by a connective. If the clause with introducing connective may not function as a sentence, that clause is a dependent clause (DC). Dependent clauses with a single, and usually contiguous, antecedent are relative clauses (RC). If the clause with introducing connective may function as a sentence, it is an independent clause (IC). Clauses lacking connectives (joined clauses) that may function as sentences are also independent clauses.

2.21 Dependent clauses with the exception of relative clauses, share the normal order, PS, of independent clauses. A DC normally follows the IC. If the DC occurs before the IC, the IC is preceded by the order marker /día/.

IC DC

ufáli áu / rà atò=náu ni àsa=náu 'I'll be happy if you do your work.'

DC IC

rà atò=náu ni àsa=náu / dia / ufáli áu 'If you do your work, I'll be happy.'

2.22 Relative clauses are introduced by the relative connective /izái/. If /izái/ is omitted, the former relative clause is then interpreted as a word or phrase modifier of the antecedent of the former relative clause. The antecedent is a nominal expression.

IC RC

naK̃áiza ni nàma=náu / izài naD̃àlu tétu 'Where was your friend going who passed by here?'

or naK̃áiza ni nàma=náu naD̃àlu tétu '(Same as above)'

In the example above, the RC occurs after the IC. The Rc may also be embedded in the IC, e.g.

IC RC IC

ni tanána / izài nalé·a=ku / dia / nà·afináritra 'The village which I went to was pleasant.'

If /izái/ serves as the S of the relative clause, the normal order is SP with no order marker before the (displaced) P.

túg̃a ilài úluna / izài niad̃rása=ku 'That person (whom) I was waiting for arrived.'

2.23 Subjoined clauses may be either full clauses, e.g.

IC DC

tsi afáka miap̃ìta akúrí àu / satría tèna fènu vuái iù ránu iú 'I can't cross at all because this river is full of crocodile

ma·àzu milaláu àmi ni nàma=náu ianàu / ra vít̃a ni fianàra=náu 'You may play at your friend's (ho if your studies a finished.'

or minor clauses, e.g.

IC DC

dìsu fànat̃enána máfi dia màfi ragá / ka làsa adála 'The gentleman was terribly disappointed and went mad.'

IC DC

sàiḳa tsi fát̃atr=u ianáu / satrìa niùva bé 'I almost didn't recognize you, because (you) have changed a lot.

3.0 Expressions

3.1 A nominal expression may function as a nominal predicate. The nominal expression is composed of (1) a noun, a substitute (independent pronoun (IP), dependent pronoun (DP) a person marker (PM), a demonstrative pronoun (Dem P) or the interrogative substitutes /ínuna/ 'what' or /íza/ 'who'); (2) a noun phrase, which is an endocentric construction with nominal head; or (3) a nominalization, which is a construction composed of an independent word or phrase preceded by a definite pre-modifier. (See Sec. 4.44)

3.2 An adjectival expression may function as an adjectival predicate. The adjectival expression is composed of (1) an adjective or participle, a number, or a locative; (2) an adjective, participle, number, or locative phrase, which is an endocentric construction with an adjectival head, or (3) a directive construction (See Sec. 4.12).

3.3 A verbal expression may function as a verbal predicate. The verbal expression is composed of (1) a verb which may be an active verb (Va), a passive verb (Vp) or a relative verb (Vr); or (2) a verb phrase, which ia a construction with verbal focus or with a verbal head,[2] e.g. a verb plus direct complement.

3.4 Any expression may function as a predicate. A subject (except for a clause functioning as subject) is normally a nominal expression except for the subject of an active clause consisting of a verbal predicate with relative verb (Vr). The S of Vr frequently corresponds to an adjunct in a clause with Va or Vp. (Adjuncts are marked by a single broken underline:)

Action clause with Va

a.ìta taksí éu alù.an ni gára ianáu	'You'll find a taxi there in front of the station.'

Action clause with Vr:

éu alù.an ni gára nu ua.ìta=náu taksí	'There in front of the station is (the circumstance of) your finding a taxi.'

The adjectival expression /éu alù.an ni gára/ is a P adjunct in the clause with Va, but the S of the related clause with Vr.

3.5 An adjunct is an expression which modifies a P or S, but which has, unlike independent words or satellite modifiers in modifier constructions, considerable freedom of position; That is, the adjunct is not required to be contiguous to the word it modifies. Most frequently, adjuncts are adjectival expressions composed of a directive construction (see 4.12). Nominal expressions frequently form adjuncts indicating time.

(adjunct = adjectival expression)

ni rài àma-d̃réni dia mamùnu téna u à-d̃zána=ni — 'The parents kill themselves for their children.

(adjunct = adjectival expression)

nù ni fà·atug̃àvan ni prezidá dia manàu sakàfu bé ìzi — 'Because of the arrival of the President, they are fixing a large dinner.'

(adjunct = nominal expression)

rùa vulàna áu nu idzànuna étu — 'I'll stay here two months.'
mi.kàsa idzèri sinemá àu ra·áriva — 'I plan to see a movie in the evening.'

3.6 Clauses may function as subjects. If the clause (S) occupies first position in the sentence, the displaced P of the sentence is preceded by the order marker /día/.

S P

na ìza na íza fidì=náu / dia mà·afáli ài — 'Whoever you choose is agreeable to me.' (either who or who chosen by you pleases me)

In the following example, a clause /na uáfaka ìzi na tsiá/ 'either will succeed he or no' stands in apposition to the subject of the clause /izáni nu fanùt̃anína/ 'that is the question', (S = /izáni/ 'that')

P S

na uáfaka ìzi na tsiá / izáni nu fanùt̃anína 'Whether he succeeds or not, that is the question.'

Clauses introduced by /izái/ 'whoever, whatever' that function as subjects have only the possible order /izái/ (S) - P, and P is not preceded by the order marker. This order of the clause is identical with that of the relative clause (See Sec. 2.2).

S P

izài tía ài dia manáraka ài 'Whoever loves me, follows me.'

S P

umèu ái izài tsi tì=náu 'Give me whatever you don't want.'

S P

tsi ma·àzu mad̃é·a izài mitàbatába 'Whoever makes noise may not go.'

4.0 Syntactic words may occur in constructions. In this section the major syntactic word classes will be described and the major constructions illustrated.

4.1 Nominals (N)

Nouns are proper nouns (including all proper names) and common nouns. Common nouns may be definite or indefinite. Proper nouns are intrinsically definite. Proper names except those beginning with {ra} + 11 are usually preceded by the definite pre-modifier /i/. Proper names beginning with {ra} may be optionally preceded by /i/ if considered specific. Common nouns preceded by a definite pre-modifier are definite. Other common nouns are indefinite. Group nouns are a set of nouns which are preceded by the numbers, e.g. /dìmi táuna/ 'five years', /iràì paké/ 'one package', /tèlu úra/ 3 hour (3 o'clock). A few group nouns are followed by the number /irái/ 'one' but preceded by the other numbers, e.g. /vàvi irái/ 'one girl' /là·i irái/ 'one boy', but /èfa-dá·i/

'four boys'.

The independent pronouns (IP) substitute for nouns as subject, as nominal predicate or after Type III directives (see 4.12). The dependent pronouns (DP) and person markers (PM) substitute for nouns in certain constructions. All substitutes including the Dem P are intrinsically definite.

4.11 The following constructions are endocentric nominal constructions:

(a) The definite pre-modifier construction is composed of a definite pre-modifier + N. The demonstrative adjectives both precede and follow N ± modifiers.

izàni rùa là·i izáni	'those two boys'
ilài závatra	'that thing'
ri rakútu	'the Rakotos, (or) Rakoto and his friends or companions
i búdu	'Bodo' (proper name)

(b) The possessive construction is composed of N + N. The possessed noun is followed by the n-link (see Sec. 5.5) except when the possessor is a PM.

N + proper name		
N = vúla	vùlan i ᵭrína	'Ndrina's money'
	vùla-ᵭri rabé	'the Rabes' money'
	vùla-ᵭrabé	'Rabe's money'
N + definite noun	vùlan ni úluna	'the person's money'
N + indefinite noun	vùlan úluna	'people's money'
N + interrogative substitute	vùlan ía	'whose money'
N + PM	vúla=ku	'my money'
N + noun phrase	vùla-ᵭralá·a=ku	'my brother's money'

(c) The free possessive construction is composed of the marker /an/ + N. The DP substitute for N in this construction. The meaning of the construction is similar to that of the possessive construction which it may replace as a nominal predicate.

an + noun	an i ð̃rína	'Ndrina's'
an + DP	an ázi	'his'
an + interrogative substitute	an íza	'whose?'
an + noun phrase	a-ð̃ralá·aku	'my brother's'
free possessive as predicate	an i ð̃rína itì vùla ití	'This money is Ndrina's
free possessive as predicate	vùlan i ð̃rína ití	'This is Ndrina's money.'

(d) An (endocentric) modifier construction is N + post-modifiers (satellite words) or N + any expression as modifier. A limited group od pre-modifiers may precede N in the modifier construction.

pre-modifier + N	tsi búki nu tadiávi=ku	'It's not a book I'm looking for.'
N + post-modifier	tùð̃a táu ni ùluna re·étra	'All the people arrived there.'
N + adjectival expression	àri búki vìta àmi ni tèni màlagási	'...and books prepared in Malagasy...'

The adjectival expression is composed of a participle, /víta/ plus a modifying directive construction /àmi ni tèni màlagási/.

N + nominal expression	ni fùb̃a fitaizána si fiḳàrakarána tùkat̃ránu	'...the way of caring for and attending the home'

The nominal expression is composed of a coordinate noun construction with coordinate marker /si/ and a direct object complement /tùkat̃ránu/ of the coordinate noun construction.

N + verbal expression	ni ùluna nad̃àlu tétu	'the people passing by here' (past)
N + relative clause	ni úluna izài nad̃àlu tétu	'the people who were passing by here'

4.12 The directive construction is an exocentric construction with nominal focus. It is composed of a directive + N focus: the PM replace N after Type I directives, the DP replace N after Type II directives, and the IP replace N after Type III directives. A few verbs or adjectives may function as directives, e.g. /mad̃rítra/ 'lasts' /mad̃rìtra itì vùlana dziúna itì/ 'during this month of June'. The directives correspond to prepositions in meaning and the directive construction is usually translated by a prepositional phrase.

Type 1 Directive + N

N = indefinite noun	anàti ránu	'into (the) water'
N = definite noun	àmi ni ab̃asádi	'at, in, to, the embassy'
N = Dem P	àmin iréu	'of, in those'
	íza àmin iréu	'which of those?'
N = PM	alú·a=ku	'before, in front of, me'

Type II Directive + N

làvitra ái	'far from me'
akàiki ázi	'near him'
akàiki ni tránu	'near the house'
tà·aka ázi	'like him'

The Type II directive /u/ 'to, for' may precede a construction identical in form to the free possessive construction (Sec. 4.11 (c)) and the definite direct object complement (Sec. 4.33, e.g. /u/ + /an i dàdabé/ = /u àn i dàdabé/ 'to (or for) Grandfather'.

nadɛ̃̀fa piásа u àn i madàma rabé ìzi	'He sent a servant to Madame Rabe.'
mividiàna labiéra u ái	'Buy me a beer!'

Type III Directive + N

àfatsi ízi	'except him'
nak̃àni amerík̃a da·ólu ìzi àfatsi ízi	'They all went to America except him.'
nù ianáu	'because of you'
tùg̃a tat́ ìzi nù ianáu	'He came here because of you.'

4.13 The direct object complement construction with verbal as focus (Sec. 4.33) is the underlying construction for a direct object complement construction with agent or abstract noun (with prefixes {p-} and {f-} respectively.) The direct object is indefinite.

Va + N	mamàfa tránu ìzi	'He cleans house.'
N (verbal agent) + N	pamàfa tránu ìzi	'He is house-cleaner.'
Vr + N	anasà-d̃áb̃a	'washing clothes'
N (verbal abstract noun) + N	fanasà-d̃áb̃a	'(the) washing (of) clothes'

4.2 Adjectivals (A)

Adjectives and root participles share certain features with verbs: adjectives like active verbs may not occur in the agent construction (See Se. 4.3); root participles like passive verbs may occur in the agent construction.

Adjectives and participles are not inflected for tense when functioning as modifiers. Locatives are inflected for tense, when functioning either as

predicates or as modifiers. Numbers are not inflected for tense.

4.21 The limiting modifier construction is an endocentric construction with adjectival as head, e.g. A + N, A + V or A + A. The meaning of the construction is 'head limited to or considered in regard to N or V or A constituent'.

A + N

A = adjective	tsàra taré·i	'good in regard to face = handsome'
	tsàra bíḳa	'good in regard to shape = well built, shapely'
A = locative	tètu màdagasiḳára	'there (past) (in) Madagascar'
A = number	iràì évitra	'one in regard to thought = unanimous'

A + V

A = adjective	mùra ùzuğuzúnina	'easy in regard to being shaken= easy to shake'
A = root participle	varìna manùzuğúzuna	'busy (with) shaking'

A + A

A = locative	áni àmi ni aʙ̃asádi	'there at the embassy'
	étu aʙ̃ù ni latábatra	'here on top of the table'

4.3 Verbals (V)

Verbs are of three subclasses, the active, passive, and relative.[3] All three subclasses are inflected for tense and for the present tense imperative, and occur both as indicative and imperative. With the premodifier /áza/ 'don't' (prohibitive) only the indicative is used.

Va	àza mipétraka	'Don't sit down.'
Vp	àza vakína	'Don't read.'
Vr	àza iaɗrásana	'Don't wait.'

Examples are provided of the imperative of the three subclasses. Word order is normal (PS) in the imperative. The name or title of the person addressed, if included, is usually placed after the clause containing the imperative.

Va	mivilía aɓavía	'Turn to the left.'
	maɗrusúa túpuku ò	'Come in, sir.'
Vp	ɓa uméu rùa duzénini àri áu è	'Then please give me two dozen.'
Vr	ɓa àpise·úi da·òli ni èta=náu	'Please show all your luggage.'
Vr	aɗefàsu pa·áɗru kèli áu	'Please send me a cook.'

Verbs may be transitive or intransitive. Transitive verbs are followed by a direct object complement. The verbal prefix {aN-} + 21 is most frequently associated with transitive verbs and the prefix {i-} + 24 with intransitive verbs. However, {aN-} does form some intransitive verbs and {i-} some transitive verbs.

A few active transitive verbs are bitransitive, i.e. they may be followed by two direct complements. One direct complement is a direct object complement (C_1), the other is a direct complement of manner or of person reference (C_2). If the direct object complement is definite, it follows the direct complement of manner or person reference. In this section and in 4.33, the central word of the P and C are indicated above the word.

P	C_2	C_1	
manùru	anái	ni lálana ìzi	'He is showing us the way.'

anái 'us' = the direct complement of person reference.
ni lálana 'way' = the direct object complement.

If the direct object complement is indefinite, it precedes the direct complement of person reference, e.g.

P C_1 C_2

manùru lálana anài ìzi 'He is showing a way (to) us.'

If the direct complement is one of manner, it usually precedes the direct object complement, e.g.

P C_2 C_1

manùsutra ménaka ni túğu=ni ìzi 'He is putting oil on his feet.'

ménaka 'oil' = the direct complement of manner
ni túğu=ni 'his feet' = the direct object complement

These two direct complements play different roles if the active transitive verb is changed to a passive verb. The direct object complement usually corresponds to the S of a Vp in {a-} + 25. The direct complement of person reference or manner usually corresponds to the S of a Vp in {-ina} - 11.

with active transitive verb:

P C_1 C_2

manùlutra vùnikázu anarèu ìzi 'He presents flowers (to) you.'

vùnikázu 'flowers' = direct object complement
anaréu 'you, pl.' = direct complement of person reference

with passive (transitive) verb in {-ina}:

P C_1

tulùri=ni vùnikázu ìànaréu 'You are presented flowers by him.'

with passive (transitive) verb in {a-}:

P C_2

atùlu=ni anaréu ni vùnikázu 'The flowers are presented to you by him.'

Passive and relative verbs may be transitive or intransitive.

with transitive verbs:

		P C$_2$	
Vp		umé=ku anáu itì akãdzu itì.	'You are given this dress by me.'
		P C$_1$	
Vr		tsi anòva=ku múfu iànaréu / ra tsi èdri tsára	'You won't be fixed cake by me, if you're not nice.'

with intransitive verbs:

Vp	nuvidì-dradzóna ilài tránu	'That house was bought by Rajaona.'
Vr	fìlma fratzái nu nidzeré=ku	'A French film is what I saw.'

4.31 The (endocentric) modifier construction with verbal head is the V + post-modifiers or V + an expression as modifier. A group of pre-modifiers may also precede V in the modifier construction.

pre-modifier + V	tèna tí=ku	'really liked-by-me'
V + post-modifier	tì=ku tukúa	'liked-by-me very'
V + adjectival expression	madè·a miàdana mi·ítsi	'goes very slowly'

A few verbs may precede verbals. These are to be distinguished from the modal pre-modifiers, which are not independent words and which may modify nominals as well as verbals. (Sec. 5.12). /madé·a/ 'goes', /midzánuna/ 'stays, stops', /ma·ázu/ 'is permitted' all agree in tense with the following verb. /mikáṣa/ 'plans' may vary in tense but may be followed only by a future tense.

adè·a idzèri sinemá ri rakútu	'The Rakotos are going to see a movie.'
ma·àzu mifùka sigára ianáu	'You may smoke (cigarettes).'
nidzánuna tsi manùratra itsúni ìzi	'He stopped writing.' (stopped not writing anymore he)
mikàsa ivìdi sakáfu áu	'I plan to buy food.'

4.32 The agent construction is limited to Vp or Vr + N. A few adjectivals (root participles only) may also occupy V position in this construction. The structure of this construction is identical with that of the possessive construction. The meaning of the construction is 'action performed by an agent'.

Vp + N	nuvidì-d̃radzóna	'bought-by-Rajaona'
	nét̃i=ku	'brought-by-me'
Vr + N	itsàg̃at̃sag̃ána=ni	'gone-to-by-him'
A (root participle) + N	ʃta=ku	'seen-by-me'

4.33 The direct object complement construction with V as focus is V + N. The DP replace N in this construction except when two or more pronouns occur in sequence, in which case the first is a DP, the following pronouns are IP, e.g. (/anàu si ʃzi/ 'you and he', is a coordinate construction). A dependent clause may also function as direct object complement. An example is provided in the sample analysis (Sec. 6.0).

P C_1 C_1
miàd̃ri anàu si ʃzi ni paɲiánatra 'The teacher is waiting for you and him.'

The direct object complement (N) may be definite or indefinite; if definite, it is usually preceded by /an/ except before /ni/. With the definite pre-modifier /ilái/ the presence of /an/ seems to be optional. The distinction, definite-indefinite, is not applicable to clauses, thus, the dependent clause as direct object complement is never preceded by /an/. Note also that the clause, dependent or independent, when functioning as S is not indicated as definite or indefinite (See Sec. 2.1).

	P C_1	
Va + N = (indefinite noun)	nitàdi évitra ìzi iréu	'They were looking for ideas.'
	P C_1	
N = DP	miàd̃ri anáu àu	'I'm waiting for you.'

	P C$_1$	
N = definite noun	miàd̃ri an i búzi ìzi	'He's waiting for Bozy.'
	P C$_1$	
	miád̃ri a-d̃ri rakútu ìzi	'He's waiting for the Rakotos.'
	P C$_1$	
	miád̃ri an irètu va·ìna irétu ìzi	'He's waiting for the guests.'
	C$_1$	
	miád̃ri ni fárani ìzi	'He's waiting for the last one.'
	P C$_1$	
Vp + N = definite noun	umé=ku an ialá itì bùki ití	'This book is given by me to you.'
	P	
Vr + N = definite noun	àd̃ru·áni nu iad̃rása=ku an irèu	'Today is when lots of people are being a-waited by me.'
	C$_1$	
	ùluna bètsaka iréu	

4.4 Several additional constructions are listed here. These may have more than one word class as head or focus.

4.41 The appositive construction is composed of two (and rarely more) juxtaposed words of the same syntactic class, neither of which can be clearly designated as head or focus. The following types of appositives have been noted:

N N

ramatùa ranáivu	'Madame Ranaivo'
ízi rùa lá·i	'the two boys'
anarèu va·óka	'you people'
midéra si misótra anarèu va·óka àu	'I admire and thank you people.'

A A

màfi tsára	'strong, good'
ái ilái ad̃ádi tèna màfi tsàra mi·ítsi dia ad̃àdi táni	'So! That really good strong shovel was (actually) a clay shovel.'

V V

midzànuna misakáfu	'stay eat'
na·óna nu tsi midzànuna misakáfu miàraka aminái ianàu	'Why don't you stay (and) eat (along) with us?'

4.42 The intensive construction is composed of A/día/^{2}A or V/día/^{2}V in which the first constituent is repeated following the construction marker /día/^{2}. The meaning of this construction is 'intensification or verification of the meaning of A or V'.

A dia A	tsára dia tsàra (tsára 'good')	'very good'
	éu dia èu (éu 'there')	'really there'
V dia V	maD̃rúsu dia maD̃rùsu (maD̃rúsu 'progresses')	'really progresses'
	maD̃rúsu dia maD̃rùsu ni fianára=ni	'His studies are really progressing.'

4.43 The 'approximate' construction is composed of locative /u/ locative, in which the first constituent is repeated after the marker /u/, e.g. /èu u éu/ 'thereabout'. The meaning of this construction is 'indefinite place or time'. (The temporal meaning of the locatives is not unique to this construction, but is evident in phrases such as /túD̃a vo téu ìzi/ 'He just arrived then' in which téu (past tense of éu 'there') means 'at that time', or 'then'.

u ávi ìzi àtu u átu	'He will arrive soon, or soonish.'
ètu u étu	'somewhere near here'

4.44 The nominalization is any expression that is converted to a nominal. The definite pre-modifiers may precede any expression, thus converting that expression to a nominal. The definite pre-modifier /ni/ is usually

replaced by /nu/ in this construction if the expression is a verbal and is sometimes replaced if the expression is an adjectival. Clauses may also be nominalized.

tsi tí=ni nu miánatra 'Studying isn't liked by him.'
/nu miánatra/ is a nominalized verbal expression in which /nu/ replaces /ni/ as definite pre-modifier.

mà·afináritra ni ma·íta anàu 'Seeing you is pleasant.'
/ni ma·íta anàu/ is a nominalized verbal expression.

nà·afináritra ni tàni tomásina 'Being there in Tamatave was pleasant.'
/ni tàni tomásina/ is a nominalized adjectival expression.

àza fàlifáli fóna àmi ni tsi mìsi fútini 'Don't always be pleased with the superficial.' (Not happy with that not having roots.)
/ni tsi mìsi fútini/ ia a nominalized (minor) existential clause. The nominalization functions as the focus of the directive /ámina/.

4.45 The coordinate construction is composed of any two expressions of the same class joined by the coordinate markers /si/ 'and' /sa/ 'or' (in interrogative clauses) or /na/ 'or-nor' (in delclarative clauses). /na/ occurs before the first expression as well as joining the two expressions with the meaning 'either...or' or 'both-and'.

/si/	izàu si ízi dia nadé·a	'He and I went.'
/sa/	tsàra sa rátsi ni sátru=ni	'Is his hat nice or awful?'
/na/	tsì ni rívutra na ni úrana nu apidzánuna àzi ètu	'Not the wind nor the rain will make him stay here.'
/na--na/	nìsi úrana na tétu na táni	'There was rain both here and there.'
	tsi nìsi úrana na tétu na táni	'There wasn't (any) rain, neither here nor there.'

P S P
na madé·a ianàu na midzánuna 'Either you go or stay, it
dia tsi mìsi átuni doesn't matter.'

The coordinate construction, (composed of a full and a minor clause) serves as the subject of the existential clause, /tsi mìsi át̃uni/ 'there isn't a cause'.

5.0 Satellites, or function words, are words which may not occupy P or S position. Satellites are grouped according to their syntactic roles. The grouping will be listed in this section, and each group will be illustarted. Only the list in Sec. 6.11 is exhaustive within the present corpus.

5.1 Satellite modifiers are pre-modifiers or post-modifiers according to their position in relation to the modified word.

5.11 Definite pre-modifiers occur before nouns and are mutually exclusive. These include:

/ni/	indicates a definite noun,
/i/	indicates a proper noun (other than one beginning with /an/),
/ri/	indicates a plural proper noun,
/ilái/	indicates a definite noun that has been previously identified,

and the demonstrative adjectives, which usually both precede and follow the noun or nominal expression.

tsi ápi ìtì ránu ìtì	'This water isn't sufficient.'
bùla tsi túga ri radzóna	'The Rajaonas still haven't arrived.'

5.12 Other pre-modifiers may occur before verbs, adjectives, nouns, nominals, or other pre-modifiers. These are tentatively designated as 'modal pre-modifiers'.

/tena/	'really'
/tsi máit̃si/	'must, have to'
tsi màit̃si madíu ni tránu / rèfa mivérina àu	'The house has to be clean when I come back.'
/sumári/	'somewhat, rather'
/méti/	'may be, might'

/fútsini/ 'only'

/túkuni/ 'should, should be'

tùkuni iànatra tsára ianàu 'You should study well.'

tùkuni ízi nu anũtàni=náu mùba ni izáni 'He should be the one you ask about that.'

/áza/ (prohibitive)

àza átu iànaréu nu mitàbatába 'Don't make noise here.'

àza mivìdi búki isé 'Don't buy books.'

/tsi/ 'no, not'

tsi ni rái nu mitàiza záza / fa ni réni 'It's not the father who raises a child but the mother.'

/éfa/ 'already'

/vo/ 'just, just as soon as'

/sáiɨka/ 'about to, almost'

/bṹla/ 'still'

Members of the modal pre-modifier group may occur in sequence with some freedom of order, e.g.

tùkuni tsi naãkáni ianáu	'You should not have gone there.'
tsi tùkuni nùme=náu àzi	'You should not have given to him'
bũ̀la tsi túga ìzi	'He still hasn't come.'
tsi bũ̀la túga ìzi	'He still hasn't come.'
mèti bũ̀la tsi áu ìzi	'He may still not be there.'
bũ̀la mèti uávi ìzi	'He still may come.'

5.13 Post-modifiers are a large group which may modify independent words.

/mi·ítsi/ intensifier

/tukúa/ 'very'

/fútsini/ 'only'

/kúa/ 'also'
izàu kúa dia fàli ma·alála anàu 'I (too) am happy to meet you.'

/múd̃za/ 'only'

/akúri/ 'at all'

/id̃rí d̃ra/ 'just exactly' or 'to the highest degree'

/iáni/ 'only, just'

/fóna/ 'continuously'

/ĩtsúni/ 'any more, no longer'
sàika fénu ni síni / nèfa tsi nìsi runùnu ĩtsúni 'The jug was almost full, however there wasn't any more milk.'

tsi àu ĩtsúni nu ametrá=ku ni búki=ku 'I don't put my books there any more.'

5.2 Parentheticals include parenthetical words, direct address words and exclamations. Parentheticals neither mark a construction nor are included in a construction:

/kád̃zu/ 'it turns out' or 'suddenly'

/ári/ 'thus'

/úni/ 'they say'
ré=ku / fa uàni ameríka ùni ianáu 'I've heard that you're going to America.'

/tò·ué/ 'it seems'

/anéfa/ 'however, then'
or /néfa/

/sédra/ 'by chance'

ìni / fa nìsi úluna sèdra nadálu / ka natsú=ni ìzi rùa lá·i 'There! There was a man passing, by chance, and he was hailed by the two boys.'

màna·óna nèfa fzi 'How, then, is he?'

Exclamations:

/drái/ 'Oh!' (in surprise)

/ái/ 'Oh!'

drái / arívа ni ádru 'Oh! It's evening.'

Direct address words that occur at the end of an utterance:

/ka/

/e/

/o/

/a/

àriàri fúlu / madáma à '50 francs, Madame.'

within or at the end of an utterance with the connotation of a polite suggestion:

/re/

ka mipetrá·a rè 'But do sit down.'

within or at the beginning of an utterance with the connotation of politeness:

/ba/

bà fàtatr=áu vè fzi 'Do you know him?'

5.3 Relational words are of three types, i.e. coordinate, connective and relative.

5.31 Coordinate relational words connect two elements having identical function within a clause:

/sa/ 'or' (in questions only)

/na/ 'or, neither' (in statements or commands)

/si/ 'and'

ianáu sa ìzi nu nadé·a 'Was it you or he who went?'

tsi màitsi izàu na ianáu nu madé·a 'Either you or I have to go.'

/ári/ 'and' rather than /si/ 'and' usually connects the third of a series of elements having identical function:

izáu si ianáu àri ízi 'you and I and he'

5.32 Connectives join clauses, occurring as the first element of the subjoined clause. Some of the connectives /dia/ and /ka/, may also introduce independent clauses; others may only introduce dependent clauses. Connectives are indicated in this section by a subscript (c).

/día/[1] 'then, subsequently'

dia(c) lása àri i kútu 'Then Koto left.'

nadrúsu tàni atránu=ni izài / dia(c) nipétraka 'We went into his house and then sat down.'

/ka/[1] 'so, and so, but'

kà(c)madrusúa àri è 'But do come in.'

nafána ni ádru / ka(c)ávi ni úrana 'The day was hot, so it rained.'

/fa/ 'but' (expresses a qualification)

nitàdi bùki fratsái áu / fa(c)tsi nísi 'I was looking for a French book, but there weren't any.'

/ra/ 'if'

ipètraka étu àu / ra(c)tì=náu 'I'll stay here if you like.'

/ɓa/[1] 'in order to, for, so that'

naɓídrámi=ni ài ni búki=ni / ɓa uvakí=ku (c)

'He lent me his book (in order for me) to read.'

/núni/ 'when' (with past tense)

sàika nivérina àu / nùni na·íta àzi (c)

'I was going to turn back, when I saw him.'

/réfa/ 'when' (with present or future tense)

/satrí/ 'because'

naɗé·a ìzi áɗru àman álina / tsi midzánuna / satrìa tèna máika tukúa ìzi (c)

'He went day and night, doesn't stop, because he is really in a hurry.'

/néfa/ 'however'

or /kanéfa/

táitra ìzi / nèfa tsi niétsika (c)

'He was startled, however he didn't move.'

5.33 The relative /izái/ joins relative clauses to independent clauses, occurring as the first element of the relative clause.

mànana búki / izài mèti utì=náu / áu 'I have a book which you may like.'

lásа ilài úluna / izài niáɗri ài 'The person who was waiting for me left.'

5.4 Nominalizer

Of the definite pre-modifiers, /ni/ /ilái/ and the demonstrative adjectives serve as nominalizers.

áiza ilài túɓa 'Where is that (one) who came?'

sárutra ni na.ìta ásа 'Finding work was difficult.'

Other examples illustrate the replacement of /ni/ by /nu/ before a verbal expression, less frequently before an adjectival expression, in clauses with normal order.

	tì=náu vè ni áni	'Do you like (it) there?'
	tì=náu vè nu uáni	'Do you like to go there?'
	fíri nu táu	'How many were there?'
or	fíri ni táu	'How many were there?'
	dími ni táu	'Five were there.'
	uatrínuna nu maxàni mà·amásina	'How much (for) going to Mahamasina?'
	ni maxàni mà·amásina dia láfu	'Going to Mahamasina is expensive.'

6.4 Markers signal a grammatical function or mark a construction without being a constituent of the construction.

/nu/ 'exclusive order' marks a displacement of the predicate from the normal position of the first element of the (non-relative) clause. The clause element that occupies first position excludes any other alternative.

(normal)	mitàdi tránu fzi	'He's looking for a house.'
(exclusive)	fzi nu mitàdi tránu	'He's (the one who is) looking for a house.'
	rovína nu uávi ri rakútu	'When will the Rakotos arrive?'[4]
	áiza nu natò=naréu ni búki=ni	'Where did you put his book?'

/día/ 'emphatic order' marks a displacement of the predicate from the normal position of first element of the (non-relative) clause. /día/ may also mark a displaced dependent clause, e.g. (normal) I C / D C; (emphatic) D C / día/ I C. The clause element or clause which precedes /día/ is emphatic.

(normal)	tùğa tétu vè ni náma=ku	'Did my friend arrive here?'
(emphatic)	ni náma=ku vè dia tùğa tétu	'Did my friend really arrive here?'

/nu/ and /día/ may be contrasted in similar sentences:

ízi dia mitàdi búki 'He is (actually) looking for a book.'
ízi nu mitàdi búki 'He (and not someone else) is looking for a book.'

/día/^{2} 'intensive' marks the intensive construction. /día/^{2} is interposed between a repeated adjectival or verbal, (See Sec. 4.42).

/u/ 'approximate' marks the approximate construction. /u/ is interposed between repeated locatives. (See Sec. 4.43)

/áni/ 'dependent' marks certain definite nominals in the direct complement construction, (See Sec. 4.33) or the free possessive construction. (See Sec. 4.32)

/n/ 'n-link' marks the possessive or agent construction when the possessor or agent constituent is any nominal other than a PM. The 'n-link' is a post-clitic added to the final vowel of the head of the construction before a following vowel, or the 'n-link' produces 'n-modifications' of an initial consonant of the possessor or agent constituent.[5] (See Sec. 4.33 and 4.32)

/ve/ 'interrogative' marks a clause as a question. /ve/ is mutually exclusive with the interrogative substitutes and the connective /sa/ 'or'. Usually /ve/ occurs after the complete predicate in clauses with normal order.

ra tsi túg̃a ìzi / dia b̃ùla iàd̃ri ázi vè ianáu 'If he doesn't come are you still going to wait for him?'

tsi nitùd̃ra sigára na èt̃ab̃àrutra áfa vè ianáu 'Have you (not) brought cigarettes or (any) other goods?'

In clauses with displaced predicate, /ve/ precedes /día/ 'emphatic' or /nu/ 'exclusive'.

ilài íni vè nu tèna rátsi 'Is that the one that is really bad?'

/múa/ 'polite interrogative' marks a clause that does not contain /ve/ or an interrogative substitute as a polite question. However, /múa/ may replace or precede /ve/ and /múa/ may occur after the interrogative substitutes. When functioning as the only interrogative marker in clause, /múa/ is not restricted to the position following the predicate.

mùa vè tì=náu ni sakáfu	'Do you like the food?'
íza mùa ianáu	'Who are you?'
mùa ianáu nu niánatra tàni ameríka	'Are you the one who studied there in America?'
fàt̃atr=áu mùa ni rái=ni	'Do you know his father?'

6.0 A sample analysis of a sentence is given here:

ni tèna ked̃réna àmin itì fap̃ise·óna itì dia b̃a à·alalàn ni úluna / fa àzu atáu àmi ni tèni màlagási ni fap̃ianárana àmi ni ab̃àratúg̃a volú·ani si fà·arúa	'The real purpose of this exhibit is to make it known by the people that instruction in the first and second levels (of the lyçee) is possible in the Malagasy language.'

The first clause is an independent clause and a (full) action clause.

S = definite pre-modifier construction with head /ked̃réna/ 'purpose'.

The directive construction /àmin itì fap̃ise·óna itì/ functions as an adjunct of S. The focus of the construction is the definite pre-modifier construction /itì fap̃ise·óna itì/ which has the head /fap̃ise·óna/ 'exhibit'.

Emphatic order in this clause is marked by /dia/, S dia P.

P = relative verb /à·alalána/ 'show, demonstrate' with pre-modifier /b̃a/. The agent construction (marked by n-link) /ni úluna/ is a definite pre-modifier construction with head /úluna/ 'people, person'. The direct object complement of the relative verb is the following dependent clause.

The second clause is a dependent clause and a (full) descriptive clause which is introduced by the connective /fa/ 'that'.

P = adjectival predicate (an idiomatic phrase) composed of a participle /á[illegible]/ and a passive verb /átau/ with the meaning 'is possible, feasible'.

The directive construction /ámi ni tèni màlagási/ functions as an adjunct of P. The focus of the construction is a definite pre-modifier construction with the head /téni/ 'language' modified by the adjective /màlagási/ 'Malagasy'.

S = definite pre-modifier construction with head /faβianárana/ 'instruction'.

The directive construction /àmi ni aβàratùga volú·ani si fà·arúa/ functions as an adjunct of S. The focus of the construction is a definite pre-modifier construction with the head /aβàratúga/ 'level (of the lycée)' modified by a coordinate adjectival construction /volú·ani si fà·arúa/ 'first and second'.

FOOTNOTES

1. All citations in this section (C. Syntax) are written in phonemic transcription. However, pitch and external juncture have not been written and non-phonemic spaces are inserted between words to facilitate analysis of citations. The style chosen for citations is the full, deliberate style. The PM are separated from a word by =. The hyphen is used to indicate the junction of two morphological words which are phonologically linked by ka, tra, n-modifications that result in a consonant change in the following words or by the marker, n-link, e.g. {nalefa-} + {-n} followed by {ri} and {rabe} becomes /nalèfaɗ̃rirabé/ which is written here: nalèfa-ɗ̃ri rabé. The convention is adopted of indicating the complete subject by a solid single underline, the complete predicate by a double broken underline, and adjuncts by a single broken underline unless differently specified in a given subsection. Unmarked words are connectives, markers, and parentheticals. The combinatory forms of extended roots and suffixed forms with -11, -12, -13 are written as they occur, e.g. /ámina/ is written as /ámi/ or /ámin/ depending on the initial of the following word: /àmin iréu/ 'of those' but /àmi ni aɓ̃asádi/ 'at the embassy'.

2. Head is used here to mean the central word of an endocentric construction. Focus is used to mean the central word of an exocentric construction if such can be identified.

3. Two major morphological classes of verbs (active and passive-relative) are distinguished on the basis of selection of the imperative suffix. Passive verbs are further distinguished from relative verbs by selection of prefixes and suffixes, although occasional ambiguity may result from the merging of the passive and relative suffixes, {-ina} and {-ana}, respectively. Syntactically three subclasses of verbs are distinguished on the basis of the relationship of the verb (as predicate of a clause) to the subject of the clause.

4. The interpretation of /nu/ as 'exclusive order' marker or as a replacement of /ni/ 'nominalizer' before a verbal expression (where /nu/ would be included in the subject) is based on the analysis of normal predicate order. If P is the first element of the clause and if S is

intrinsically a verbal expression, /nu/ is interpreted as replacing /ni/ 'nominalizer'.

uatrínona nu anòva=náu an iù?	'How much for your doing that?'
tì=ku tukúa nu uáni	'I like going there very much.'

If, however, either an adjunct or S precedes the predicate, /nu/ is interpreted as the order marker. In this case /nu/ 'exclusive order' may frequently be replacable by /día/ 'emphatic order', if the clause does not contain an interrogative substitute or question marker.

mèti i rakútu nu uláni	'It may be Rakoto who will be elected.'
àza áni nu mivìdi vári	'Not there (do you) buy rice.'
áiza nu natò=naréu ni búki=ni	'Where did you put his book?'

5. A few Type I directives may add the 'n-link' to the end of the directive, which precedes the nominal focus in a directive construction. Since the 'n-link' does not occur with all Type I directives in the directive construction, it cannot be considered there as a construction marker. An example of the 'n-link' with a Type I directive is /alù.a-d̃rabé/ 'in front of Rabe'. (See also the examples in Sec. 3.4). An example of a directive construction with Type I directive without 'n-link' is /ànati ránu/ 'in, into (the) water', Sec. 4.12.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The reader is referred to the bibliography by Ruth Jones which contains extensive entries not only on Merina but on the other dialects of Malagasy and entries on social, geographical, and anthropological studies of Madagascar. The bibliography produced by the Center for Applied Linguistics lists primarily studies on the Malagasy language.

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